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THE
Quarterly Journal
OF THE
Mythic Society
81321
BANGALORE

VOL. VIII

1917-1918

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The Mythic Society

R U L E S .

- 1: The Society shall be called the Mythic Society.
2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—
 - (a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects, more particularly in Mysore and South India.
 - (b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.
3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-President, a General Secretary, an Editor, an Honorary Treasurer, a Librarian, Branch Secretaries, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.
4. Membership shall be of two kinds—
 - (a) Honorary. (b) Ordinary.
5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons, who in the opinion of the Committee have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee, and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.
6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—
 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
 - (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of our Journal is issued, by sending the second number by V. P. P.

Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona-fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Any subscriber on payment of rupees three per annum will be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal of this Society.

8. The activities of the Society shall be as follows :—

- (a) There shall be as far as possible nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.
- (b) Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.
- (c) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session, but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous July, and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.
- (d) Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.
- (e) The Society shall encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-Room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-Room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee, and duly notified to those concerned.

(iii)

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisition and obtaining order in each case. .

12. The Annual General Meeting will be held as far as possible in July, when the reports and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members, and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of the Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being :

The President, the General Secretary, and the Treasurer.

A. V. RAMANATHAN,

Secretary.

The Mythic Society

COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1917-18

Patron

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.S.I.

Honorary Presidents

THE HON'BLE COL: SIR HUGH DALY, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.
HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA GAIKWAR OF BARODA,
G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

HIS HIGHNESS THE YUVARAJA OF MYSORE, G.C.I.E.

THE HON'BLE MR. H. V. COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

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Editor

F. R. SELL, ESQ., M.A.

Honorary Treasurer

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FOR HISTORY, S. SRIKANTAYYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

FOR RELIGIONS, THE REV. F. GOODWILL.

FOR FOLKLORE, DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

Committee

The above ex-officio and

DR. P. S. ACHYUTA RAO, L.M.&S; P. SAMPAT IYENGAR, ESQ.,
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SIMHA CHAR, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S; E. P. METCALFE, ESQ., B.SC.;
K. CHANDY, ESQ., B.A.; V. SUBRAMANYA IYER, ESQ., B.A.; G. T.
HALL, ESQ.

Statement of Accounts from July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1917.

Balance-Sheet.

NOTE.—Value of Journals on hand: Vols. 1 to VI—4,761 numbers at As. 12 per number
Number of Members: Honorary 12, Resident 156, Mofussil 138, Subscribers 14, Students 18
... Rs. 3,570—12—0.

S. SHAMANA, Honorary Treasurer.
Mythic Society.

The Opening of the Daly Memorial Hall.

25th July, 1917.

ONE of the most delightful and well arranged functions which it has been our privilege to attend took place last evening on the occasion of the opening of the Daly Memorial Hall. Everything was pronounced to be perfect by every one of the hundreds who had responded to the invitation of the Secretaries, Father Tabard and Mr. D. M. Narasinga Rao.

A large "shamiana" with accommodation for five-hundred guests had been erected on the southern side. Every seat was occupied long before the time fixed for the ceremony. The Dewan Sahib, the General Officer Commanding, with his Brigade Major, the Chief Judge, the Councillors, the heads of departments, the members of both Municipalities, the representatives of the Bar, the resident members of the Mythic Society, the leading merchants of both the City and C. and M. Station, and very many others had assembled to do honour to His Highness the Yuvaraja and testify to the general interest taken by all classes of the community in a function devised to commemorate a great friend of Mysore, the Hon'ble Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, late British Resident, and to bring to prominence a society the main object of which is to study the glories of India's and particularly Mysore's past.

Punctually at 6 p.m., His Highness the Yuvaraja, accompanied by his Private Secretary, arrived on the grounds, the band playing the Mysore Anthem. His Highness was received by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.L.E., Sir Leslie Miller, Kt., and the two Secretaries.

On His Highness taking his seat on the dais, the following address was read by Father Tabard, the President of the Mythic Society :—

THE ADDRESS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—We the Secretaries, Daly Memorial, beg leave to express our gratitude to your Highness for having kindly consented to perform the ceremony of opening the Daly Memorial Hall. The memorial had its inception in the eager and widespread desire of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja to give some tangible expression to their feelings of affection and regard for the late British Resident, Col. Sir Hugh Daly.

His term of office in this State was distinguished by the conclusion of the Mysore Treaty and other important events which will be cherished by the people in grateful remembrance. This memorial is a tribute, however, not only to his sympathetic and successful statesmanship, but to his genuine love of Mysore, his scholarly interest in its past history and his deep and well known solicitude for all that concerned the well-being of its people.

The hall will serve as the abode of the Mythic Society, an institution in which Sir Hugh Daly was keenly interested. A man of scholarly predilections, he extended the honour of his patronage to the Society while it was still in its infancy, and its present satisfactory position is due, in a considerable measure, to the encouragement and assistance which it has received at his hands. Its location in a building named after Sir Hugh Daly will be an appropriate memento of his valued connection with the Society.

It is now eleven months since Your Highness' illustrious brother laid the foundation-stone of this building, and it is now our pleasant duty to announce its successful completion.

The accounts of the Memorial fund up to date are as follows :

		Rs.	A.	P.
Receipts ....	....	21,175	5	0
Expenditure ....	....	22,433	0	6

There are still outstanding bills awaiting adjustment amounting to about Rs. 2,350, leaving us with a deficit of

about Rs. 3,600 which, we trust, will be met by further donations. The success of our labours is chiefly due to the munificent help of His Highness the Maharaja and his Government, Your Highness, His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, to all of whom we tender our most cordial and respectful thanks.

As one of the Honorary Presidents of the Mythie Society, Your Highness is aware that its object is to promote historical and archaeological studies, principally those relating to Mysore. It is our fervent hope that under this roof may be developed an atmosphere of research which will spread far and wide in the State and enrich its intellectual life, and we consider it a circumstance of happy augury that the Society should have been moved to its new habitation under such distinguished auspices. The tablets at the entrance of the hall will serve to remind us of the high aims which we have set before ourselves and of the august patronage which has been extended to us in expectation of their fulfilment.

We now beg Your Highness to declare the Hall open.

HIS HIGHNESS' REPLY.

His Highness replied as follows :—

REV. FATHER TABARD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the warm welcome you have extended to me this evening and for giving me this opportunity of performing what I look upon as a privilege, the ceremony of opening this Hall built to commemorate the memory of one who has deservedly won a place for himself in an abiding manner in the hearts of us all.

Sir Hugh Daly, as you rightly point out, had remarkable qualities of both head and heart, and there could be no better or more significant testimony to the goodwill and love we Mysoreans bear and will always bear towards that high-minded British officer than the readiness with which the proposal to bring into existence an abode for the Mythie Society, in which Sir Hugh always evinced a deep interest, was received and responded to.

Gentlemen, I cannot possibly proceed to perform the ceremony of opening this Hall, without being guilty of a

serious omission, if I did not say a word about that most revered and genial of men, Father Tabard who, as Sir Leslie Miller once aptly put it, is himself the Mythic Society. Father Tabard is the life and soul of the Society and has, as you know, from the very beginning so completely identified himself with it that, had it not been for his tenacity of purpose, his taste for things antiquarian and, above all, his intense love for Mysore and its past, we probably should not have had the Mythic Society at all and much less found it in the condition that it is in to-day.

I trust that, under the protection the Daly Memorial Hall, which I am about to open, will afford, the society of antiquarian researches so carefully nurtured by Father Tabard will prosper, and that this beautiful hall will always serve to refresh the minds of the present and the future generations with the memories of a noble-minded British officer who was a sincere well-wisher of Mysore and her people.

I now declare the building open.

His Highness was then taken to the main entrance of the building where, opening the main door with a silver key he declared, amidst great applause, that the Daly Memorial Hall was formally opened.

A tablet commemorating the fact was immediately unveiled. It bears the following inscription:—"Daly Memorial Hall. This hall was opened by His Highness Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Yuvaraja of Mysore, on the 25th July, 1917." This tablet corresponds to the one recording the laying of the foundation-stone of the hall by His Highness the Maharaja, on 30th August, 1916.

By a graceful attention of the Secretaries the hall had been provided with chairs also. His Highness the Yuvaraja's chair was the historical chair of the Duke of Wellington. By his side sat the Dewan Sahib and Lady Miller.

Then a most delightful surprise was sprung upon the guests by the ever-resourceful President of the Mythic Society. A tableau representing archæology, ethnology, history and Indian religions was skilfully arranged on the stage, with a dozen girls dressed to represent the several religions and races in Mysore.

Miss Hearne requested His Highness to unveil Sir Hugh Daly's portrait, with which request His Highness gracefully complied.

His Highness having resumed his seat, Miss O'Donovan, Miss Green, Miss Lee and Miss Wilmot came forward and offered His Highness, in the name of all the sciences which form the scope of the Mythic Society, their hearty thanks for having given them a home in the hall just opened, and prayed that all heavenly blessing may be the lot of the ruling Mysore House.

His Highness was then garlanded and presented with a lovely bouquet by Father Tabard, bouquets and button-holes being presented to the large audience by the young ladies impersonating the several sciences.

Father Tabard then called for three hearty cheers for His Highness the Maharaja and three more for His Highness the Yuvaraja, and the Dewan Sahib Sir M. Visvesvaraya called for three more for Father Tabard, and all the cheers were given with a will.

The Mysore Anthem and the National Anthem brought the proceedings to a close.

The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

VOL. VIII.]

OCTOBER 1917

[No. 1

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
MYTHIC SOCIETY

Bangalore, August 7, 1917.

THE HON'BLE MR. H. V. COBB, C.S.I., C.I.E., BRITISH RESIDENT
in the Chair.

Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A., read the Report.

THE REPORT

THE session which has just come to a close will ever be a memorable one in the annals of the Mythic Society. The Society has been registered during the year under Regulation 3 of 1904 and has thus acquired the status of a person under the law. It has also found a habitation in the Daly Memorial Hall, in which we meet to-day for the first time. The session began with a very encouraging speech from the Dewan of Mysore, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E. Early in the session, on the 30th August 1916, our Patron, His

Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, G.C.S.I., laid the foundation-stone of this Hall, when he referred to the Society in the following terms: "It has my warmest sympathy and I earnestly hope that when its objects become better known, the people of Mysore at large—not the learned few only—will begin to feel pride and interest in its work; I have no doubt that in the fulness of time the researches conducted within the walls of this building will reveal many a brilliant page in the past history of Mysore." The building was opened on the 25th July, 1917, by His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, G.C.I.E., one of our Honorary Presidents, and handed over for our use. We take this opportunity of thanking the several subscribers to the Daly Memorial Fund and the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore for their generosity towards the Society.

This session also commences under the most favourable auspices. The presence, in the chair, of the Honourable Mr. H. V. Cobb, C.S.I., C.I.E., British Resident in Mysore, is for us a most precious encouragement, and we beg to assure him of our warm gratitude and, were we not afraid to be presumptuous, we would express the hope of seeing him at our meetings when his exalted and arduous duties allow him the leisure. But in any case we feel that in him we have as warm a sympathiser as we had in his two predecessors, Mr. S. M. Fraser and Sir Hugh Daly.

There were ten meetings during the year. The papers read kept up the best traditions of the Society. Mysore history played as usual a large part in our proceedings. Among those interesting papers may be specially mentioned our President's "Tippu Sultan's Embassy to the French Court in 1788"; Mr. Richards' "Some Dravidian Affinities and their Sequel;" Praktana Vimarsa Viehakshana Rao Bahadur Mr. Narasimhachar's "Sringeri;" Dr. Venkatasubbiah's "A Twelfth Century University in Mysore"; Mr. Aiyyaswamy Iyer's "Indian Arts and Architecture"; and Mr. Srikantaiya's "The Hoysala Empire." The year was also remarkable for the large number of contributions to the journal received from our mofussil members, among whom Messrs. V. Rangachari and A. Ghose deserve our special thanks. There has been an appreciable accession to the circle of our working members and, as a result, we have never been in lack of lectures for our meetings or matter for our Journal. We are now in the happy position of being able to select from papers submitted to us, and have matter of excellent quality for the next two numbers of our Journal, with a very interesting programme in prospect for the next session. It is our earnest hope that a still larger number of our members will take active interest in the work of the Society, now that we have been able to provide them with a library and reading-room and have a retired place for quiet study and research.

Our Journal has increased in bulk owing to the additional matter provided. The reviews have been a new feature of volume VII. They enable our members to keep themselves *au courant* with all that is published in India on those subjects which form the scope of the Mythic Society. The Journal is attracting wider notice, and our list of exchanges has been considerably enlarged.

In our membership also we have been fortunate; we have now 156 resident members, 138 mofussil members, 14 subscribers and 3 student members. The increase in resident members is encouraging. We hope at the end of the present session to show a proportionate increase in the number of our mofussil members.

The balance-sheet presented by our Treasurer shows that, the subscriptions collected during the year and amounting to Rs. 1,373-8-6, constitute a record. Nevertheless this was not sufficient to meet our expenditure owing to the increased printing charges consequent on the increased bulk of our Journal and the rise of prices due to war. The development of the work of the Society, and the provision of special facilities contemplated for members working at lectures, require funds. The Committee feel that without doubling the present membership it will be difficult to work the Society on the present subscription, and, therefore, take this opportunity to make a personal appeal to every one of the members, resident or mofussil, to introduce at least one member to the Society during the coming year.

We have considerably reduced the outstandings during the year. Yet our accounts still show Rs. 444 as being the arrears due on account of subscriptions at the end of the session. Members should remember that the rate of subscription is almost ridiculously low compared with the rates of similar publications. If they want us to keep up the standard of our Journal, even under the present difficult circumstances, they ought to help us by paying their subscriptions with scrupulous regularity.

Another problem connected with our finances is the extra expenditure necessitated by the up-keep of this Hall and the surrounding grounds. As both remain, in a sense, the property of the Mysore Government, we trust that His Highness the Maharaja's Government will help us towards their proper maintenance.

The Committee would request every resident member to make it a point to attend each meeting, as a large audience is a prime factor in inducing our active members to come forward with their papers. It is true that papers read at meetings appear in our Journal, but a large attendance would conduce to more interesting and illuminating discussions, which ought to be a feature of our meetings. The members would also enhance the value of the Journal by

making larger use of the correspondence columns and sending us notes, or items of information which they consider not sufficient for a full-fledged lecture.

In conclusion, the Committee beg once again to express their deep gratitude to the lecturers and contributors who have enabled them to keep up the high standard of the Journal; they desire also to offer their heartiest thanks to Mr. J. G. Tait and his colleagues of the Central College for having so kindly allowed them to hold the meetings of the Society in the college hall for the last several years.

Father Tabard moved the adoption of the report as follows:—

FATHER TABARD'S SPEECH

MR. COBB, MY *LORD BISHOP, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am afraid that standing here year after year to propose the adoption of the Report, I may look something of an anachronism. This feeling is still intensified in the present circumstances. What is the use of studying the past when we have hardly time to realise the present? Why devote energies to antiquarian studies which can in no way improve the condition of the people? Let our thoughts be concentrated on the present war and our energies to improve the conditions, economic and educational, of those around us. In other words, why have those societies, who, like the Mythic Society, are only absorbed in a dead past, in a history much less interesting than the history which is being written under our own eyes, in those archæological remains which in many cases are fast disappearing to make room for Western civilization? Why waste time with philosophical or religious systems which can interest only those who follow or believe in them?

The founders of the Mythic Society as well as the founders of similar societies which have spread all over India during the last two decades were well aware of those objections. Yet they answer with no uncertain voice. All who live in India, whether it be the land of their birth or a land of adoption, cannot possibly disinterest themselves from anything that is Indian. To understand India, to love and serve it, they must know its history, its systems of philosophy; the archæological remains of the past, which make the landscape so fascinating, must not leave them cold and indifferent. They must be able to judge for themselves as to what is a myth and what is not; able also to compare in order to come to conclusions well grounded in fact. No individual by himself would be equal to the task, unless he were in a position to devote all his time to those studies. But societies like ours do the work for him, and at the end of a busy day, even the overworked official can take up those societies' journals as a diversion and find recreation and rest,

* The Lord Bishop of Madras.

while acquiring a sound knowledge of things Indian. Sometimes he will meet with facts which, even in momentous times like ours, will startle him as falling in most wonderfully with his present anxious mood. Let me take only one instance. We in India read of the Hunnish atrocities but find it difficult to realise them. India and Germany are so far from each other. Yet the student of Indian history will recall to mind that India has had a taste of the Hun. The Huns invaded India in the sixth century A.D., and the Chinese pilgrim Sungyun tells us that they practised "the most barbarous atrocities." All Indian traditions agree in representing Mihiragula, the Hunnish Kaiser of that time, as "a blood-thirsty tyrant, the Attila of India," stained to a more than ordinary degree with the "implacable cruelty," noted by historians as a characteristic of the Hun temperament. The cruelty of Mihiragula became so unbearable that the native princes, under the leadership of Baladitya, King of Magadha and Yasodharman, a Rajah of Central India, formed a confederacy against the tyrant and, in 528 A.D., they accomplished the deliverance of their country from oppression by inflicting a decisive defeat on Mihiragula, who was taken prisoner. Does not this read like a page of to-day's history? May it also be an augury for the history of to-morrow? In reading this page of Indian history, will not Indians, remembering the Huns of the sixth century, derive new strength and courage to shed their blood rather than have a taste of the twentieth century Huns?

Having endeavoured to explain and justify the existence of those societies devoted to the study of India, I beg now to say a few words on the report before us.

It is, as we all agree, satisfactory. The past year has been one of steady progress in every direction. One point that strikes me most forcibly is the increased interest our Society has drawn to itself in and out of Mysore, in spite of the present adverse circumstances. This interest must go on increasing now that we have a hall of our own and the nucleus of a library. Our library is very small as yet, but we hope that every day will make some valuable addition to it. We have approached His Highness the Maharaja's Government with a view to have transferred to it all works bearing on the subjects within the scope of our Society which are now scattered over other libraries in Bangalore, as has been done by the Madras Government with regard to the Connemara Library. If our request meets—as we have good reasons to hope it will—with favourable consideration, scholars will find here all books relating to the history, archaeology, etc., of India.

May I, in this connection, make an appeal to private gentlemen to present our library with such works as they might have in their own private libraries? They will be safe with us and always accessible to the donors, who will have

the satisfaction of feeling that not one only, but hundreds will benefit by the knowledge contained in those books. We all know what becomes of private libraries when the owner disappears. Why not deposit them, as it were in a sanctuary, where they will be looked after and continue their teaching work after us instead of running the risk of a library, gathered together with great care and loved with a love books alone can inspire, being scattered to the four winds or finding its way to the bazaar after the death of its owner?

Our finances leave room for improvement. The building of the hall has left us in debt, the bulk of our journal is increasing, the cost of paper is becoming higher, some of our members are still too casual with their subscriptions. One of the means to set matters right has been suggested by the Secretary in the report, and I fully endorse his remarks: Each member of the Society could induce at least "one" friend to join it. This would at once double our membership and place the Society on a sound financial basis. Many may perhaps hesitate to join us because they are under the wrong impression that they will have to give lectures or read papers at our meetings. It may be explained to would-be members that the only qualification for membership is an interest in and a love for India. Were this well understood once for all, our members should be counted no longer by hundreds but by thousands.

Yet, in spite of these few shortcomings, I feel sure that the Mythic Society has entered into a new path of success and usefulness. Under the high patronage of His Highness the Maharaja and His Highness' Government, of His Highness the Yuvaraja, of the Honourable the British Resident, I have no doubt that its future will be still brighter than its past.

With these remarks I have the honour to propose that the report for 1917, be adopted.

The following announcement was then made by Father Tabard:—

Mr. K. V. Ramasawmy Iyengar, one of our members, has given Rs. 105 towards our Library to commemorate the name of his uncle the late Rao Bahadur Rajakaryapravina A. Rangasawmy Iyengar, Retired Revenue Commissioner.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasaiengar, M.A., Inspector-General of Police, voiced the thanks of the Society.

Sir Leslie Miller, K.T., proposed and Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao seconded that Father Tabard be re-elected President for another year. The proposition was carried by acclamation.

Dewan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., F.R.A.S., Financial Secretary, proposed and Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A., Inspector-General of Education, seconded the following gentlemen as office-bearers and members of the Managing-Committee for the ensuing year. This was carried unanimously.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.—Rajaseva Dhurina Sirdar M. Kantharaj Urs, Esq., B.A., C.S.I.; Sir Leslie Miller, K.T., I.C.S.; Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, Esq., M.A.; F. J. Richards, Esq., M.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S.; A. R. Banerji, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E.

General Secretary, Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A.—Editor, Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A.—Honorary Treasurer, Mr. S. Shamanna, B.A.—Librarian, Mr. K. Devanathachariar, B.A.

BRANCH SECRETARIES.—For ethnology, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.; for history, Mr. S. Srikantayya, B.A., B.L.; for religions, The Rev. F. Goodwill; for folklore, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah, M.A., PH.D.

COMMITTEE.—The above ex officio and Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao, L.M.&S.; Mr. P. Sampat Iyengar, M.A.; Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S.; Mr. E. P. Metcalfe, B.Sc.; Mr. K. Chandy, B.A.; Mr. V. Subramanya Iyer, B.A.; and Mr. G. T. Hall.

The Chairman concluded a most interesting speech with the following remarks:—

I am confident of the future of this Society, and of its increasing utility and success. The keynote of its membership, as displayed in the life and example of its President, is a love of India and an abiding and affectionate interest in its past, its present and its future. And while this spirit pervades the Society's meetings and publications, success and enthusiasm are assured. In a word, the Society forms a happy conjunction of Indian and English members, presided over by France—can there be a happier "entente"?

Rao Bahadur B. P. Annaswamy Mudaliar, C.I.E., in a few well chosen words, proposed a vote of thanks to the chair. The vote was duly seconded by Mr. F. R. Sell, and was carried by acclamation.

THE WILD TRIBES OF THE VIZAGAPATAM HILLS

A Paper read before the Mythic Society.

BY R. H. CAMPBELL, ESQ., C.I.E., I.C.S. (RETD.)

I feel some diffidence in reading this Paper to the members of the Mythic Society. It is in no sense a learned paper and I have serious doubts whether the subject-matter can properly be described as *mythic*. The word, *mythic*, is defined in Johnson's dictionary as a fiction or fanciful creation, and the learned Doctor gives "fictitious" as the only synonym for *mythic*. The terms are, however, wide ones, wide enough perhaps to embrace a paper which deals with the manners, customs, traditions and beliefs of the primitive tribes who still survive amid the eastern highlands of the Indian peninsula.

I hope that it may be of some interest to my hearers, whose lot is cast among a civilised people and in a highly enlightened and progressive Indian State, to hear some account of a tract of country where the bulk of the people are still barely on the verge of civilisation.

During my service in the Madras Presidency it fell to my lot to hold the appointment of Collector and Agent to the Governor in Vizagapatam for a period of about six years, and it was part of my duty to administer the Agency Hill Tracts. In the course of my tours I came into close personal contact with most of the hill tribes, and I have endeavoured to record some of my impressions in the paper which I now propose to read.

The District of Vizagapatam comprises two distinct divisions, that is to say, the plains and the hills, which are commonly known as the Agency Tracts. Along the coast you have about 7,000 square miles of plain country, all of which is civilised and is administered in the same way as the ordinary districts of the Madras Presidency. Forty miles inland you come to the line of the Eastern Ghauts, a formidable barrier of mountains accessible in only a few places. In the interior of these mountains lies the tableland known as the Vizagapatam Agency, which is, roughly speaking, a series of three distinct plateaus, ranging from 3,000 to 1,000 feet, and merging in the Central Provinces. The area of the Agency is about 10,000 square miles. In the south-

west corner there is a small tract known as the Gudem Hills, which is directly under the administration of the British Government. The rest of the country belongs to various hill zamindaris. Jeypore is by far the most important of these permanently settled estates, and its zamindar has the personal title of Maharaja. It is a wild and beautiful country, with a bracing climate and a good rainfall. To quote the word of Mr. Francis, the editor of the *District Gazetteer*:—"This country, though malarious in the extreme and held in abject dread by the natives of the plains, wins the best affections of almost every European officer whom fate leads to serve within it. The beauty of its scenery, its cooler and more invigorating air, the chances of sport in its vast jungles, the absence of the mass of detail and routine which binds an official in the plains hand and foot to his office table, the infrequency of petty squabbles, intrigue, and litigation, the freshness of its cheery inhabitants with their curious customs and their unsophisticated ways, the scope for action on broad and original lines in an unopened country, and the survival of personal and paternal rule and responsibility, more than compensate for the remoteness, discomforts and unhealthiness of the Vizagapatam Hills."

There are some magnificent peaks in this portion of the Eastern Ghauts running up to over 5,000 feet, and it is interesting to find in the district records that a serious effort was made, about sixty years ago, to establish a sanatorium for British troops on a shoulder of one of these, known as Gale Konda. The results of the experiment were disastrous, as all the troops sent there broke down with fever, and it was never repeated. I know from personal experience the deadly nature of the malarial fever which prevails even on the summits of the highest hills. It is unfortunate that this should be so, for the climate is in other respects delightful, and one cannot help feeling that the country ought to be an important planting centre like the Nilgiris and our own Bababudan Hills. I have seen coffee growing luxuriantly in some of the villages in the Gudem Hills, but it has not, so far, been seriously cultivated except in one place. Fever is the curse of the whole country, and it is impossible to escape it. It happens, too, to be of a peculiarly virulent type, and often assumes the blackwater form.

There are no railways in the Agency, but the construction of a railway through Jeypore to the Central Provinces is now only a question of time and money. The nearest point by rail is a town on the plains called Salur, which is on the only metalled road connecting the Agency with the plains. This road used to be bridged for about 70 miles as far as Jeypore, the Maharaja's capital. Beyond that point it was in my time impossible to go, except on foot or on horseback, owing to unbridged rivers, though the road itself continued and connected Jeypore with the Central Provinces. I see that a new

bridge has recently been opened over the Indravati River on this road. The main road above referred to is known as the Pottangi Ghaut Road, and is in charge of the Public Works Department. All the other roads in the Agency have been made by the Agency officers without professional assistance, but they are little more than cart-tracks with ingenious wooden bridges over the principal streams. Agency bungalows with mud walls and thatched roofs have been built at convenient centres, but travelling is very difficult as it has to be done mainly on horseback, tents and supplies being carried on elephants. I can remember on more than one occasion living in a grass hut and being a ten days' march away from my headquarters on the coast. I must confess that my tours in the wilds of Jeypore were a very delightful experience, and I can recall few happier ones during the thirty-one years that I have spent in India.

But it is time for me to turn to the people of these hill tracts. To describe them is not an easy task, as they are divided into so many different sects or tribes, all speaking different languages and dialects. They may be roughly classified under two broad divisions, namely, the original people of the soil and the foreigners, or Oriyas, who over-ran the country in the remote past and imposed their rule on the aborigines. The ruling family is an Oriya one of Rajput descent, and there are many other Oriya-speaking races. Among the aborigines the Khonds are by far the most numerous. The languages of the Agency form a perfect babel—Oriya, Telugu, Khond, Gadaba, Hindustani, Savara, Poraga, Koya, Gondi, Lambadi, Bastari, Hindi and Chathisgarhi, all being names of languages or dialects that are spoken—and you can imagine how difficult the work of administration is made by such a diversity of tongues. As Agency Sessions Judge I came into contact with most of these languages, and it was difficult in some cases to find a competent interpreter.

Time will not permit me to describe the manners and customs of all the different Agency tribes, and all that I shall try to do is to give you a few examples based on my personal recollections.

Nearly every hillman carries an axe or a bow and arrows. Their weapons are intended for protection against wild beasts. Incidentally this custom of going armed, combined with an irresistible craving for arrack and toddy, leads to frequent acts of violence, and many is the murder case which I have tried in which some unfortunate Khond had his skull cracked by some boon companion in his cups. As the evidence generally shewed that both parties were drunk, and often that the victim was the aggressor, I never imposed more than a heavy sentence of imprisonment in these cases. I may mention that the arrack consumed in the Agency is a peculiarly strong and unwholesome spirit distilled from the petals of the

Mohwa flower. It is all made locally in pot stills and its manufacture and sale is in the hands of a sect of Oriya-speaking people known as the Sondis, who are also the money-lenders of the Agency. The hillmen are almost all in debt to these Sondis; and here again I used to find a very common inducement to the crime of dacoity or gang-robbery. This crime is practically confined in Jeypore to another Oriya-speaking tribe, known as the Dhombs, who are notorious for their criminal habits. In almost every case of dacoity which I had to try, the facts were identical. A gang of Dhombs would go out at night and break into a Sondi's house, maltreating and even murdering the occupants, and looting everything that they found on the premises. These cases were very difficult to detect as the dacoits could hardly ever be identified by night, and the only method of detection which the police could adopt was to arrest and search any suspicious gangs of Dhombs in the neighbourhood. I am bound to say that the police nearly always succeeded in tracing the hulk of the stolen property to the possession of one or other of these gangs of Dhombs.

While on the subject of crime I may mention that, excepting the Dhombs, the Agency hillmen are the most honest and law-abiding people that I have ever had to deal with, and are singularly truthful. In the Gudem Hills, for instance, where there are no Dhombs, there are practically no police stations. Thefts and robberies are unknown, and the only crime ever committed is an occasional murder induced by jealousy. I remember on one occasion asking the headman of a village in this tract whether there were ever any thefts in his village. His reply was eloquent. Pointing to the centre of the street in which we were standing, he said,—“If you placed a large block of gold there and left it for a year, no one would dream of touching it,” and what he said was perfectly true.

To revert to the Dhombs, they are a very difficult people to deal with. They profess to be weavers and have settlements in nearly every village. They are outcastes, and the people always insist on their living apart in separate hamlets. Unfortunately, the people whom the Dhombs victimize are naturally timid, and never attempt to offer the least resistance. The police do what they can to keep the Dhombs in order by registering them as known depredators and paying them domiciliary visits, but police stations are few and far between, and it is impossible to suppress their habit of committing torchlight dacoities and getting even with the local Sondi-Shylocks, for whom no one feels much pity. Before the War, a German Lutheran Mission from Schleswig-Holstein had taken up the work of reforming the Dhombs, by converting them to Christianity and endeavouring to settle them down to industrial pursuits. No doubt these Germans were earnest in

their efforts, whatever political motive they may have had, but the results which they achieved were sometimes almost ludicrously disappointing. I remember one very big dacoity case in which the accused persons were all so-called Christian Dhombs living under the protection of the German Mission. There was the clearest possible evidence of their guilt, and the principal member of the gang was a catechist, who led the dacoits mounted on a mission pony. So strong is the local feeling against the Dhombs that, in 1897, there was a regular rising against them, and many of them were murdered.

The Khonds of the Agency are a simple race, devoid of education and with no ambition except to lead a simple agricultural life, enlivened by drinking and hunting. Drunkenness is very rife among them, and they are inordinately fond not only of Mohwa arrack, but of toddy drawn from the sago-palm, which grows wild in their country. They also drink a kind of beer made from the grain called Samai. At one season of the year when the sago sap is running, the Khonds hold a regular orgy lasting for weeks, and whole villages actually live, drink, and sleep round the palm trees. They are very keen hunters, and every year, in the month of March or April, they carry out what is known as the Chaitra Beat, when the whole population turns out and drives the jungle for days at a time, killing, with arrows, spears, axes and guns, every living animal that they come across, except the most dangerous ones. There is no Arms Act in the Agency, the theory being that the people require arms as a protection against wild beasts, and the result of this Chaitra Beat, repeated year after year, is that the Agency jungles are almost devoid of any kind of deer or small game, and that you never hear a wild bird's note.

The hill tribes of the Agency are nominally Hindus by religion, but Brahminical influence among them is not the power that it is elsewhere. The Oriyas have their own gods and temples in the larger towns, but the mass of the people of the wilder parts worship exclusively their forefathers' animistic deities, which differ entirely from those of the low country. None of these gods have any proper shrines, and the officiating priests are never Brahmins. Most of these deities are of the female sex. Totemism is very prevalent, and where it exists, members of the same Totem are regarded as of one family and may not inter-marry. The commonest Totems are animals, birds and reptiles, such as the tiger, cobra, tortoise, bear, iguana, dog, monkey, goat, bull, cow, lizard, parrot, peacock and vulture. The sun and certain stones and plants are also adopted as Totems. These Totems are greatly revered, and may not be eaten or killed except in self-defence. Most of the hill tribes are flesh eaters, and the Oriyas have a peculiar liking for the egg of the domestic goose. Hundreds

of geese are kept in some of the towns and villages round Jeypore, and their eggs are sent to the capital for consumption in the palace.

The head of the family is all-powerful among the Khonds. I remember a case in which there was a quarrel between two brothers. The elder, in order to punish his brother, gave him away publicly as a slave to a certain money-lender, and his wife was similarly handed over to the money-lender's clerk. The younger brother did not dream of questioning his brother's right to make slaves of him and his wife, but he got out of a difficult position by promptly decapitating the "head" of the family with an axe. When trying the case I held that the homicide was justifiable, as the younger brother had received very grave and sudden provocation, and I let him off with a nominal sentence of imprisonment.

There are many curious marriage customs among these hill people. You find, for instance, marriage by purchase, marriage by service for three years in the house of the girl's parents, marriage by elopement, and marriage by forcible compulsion on the part of the bridegroom and his friends. One marriage custom, in particular, lingers in my memory as prevailing among a tribe called the Banda Porojas. These people have a regular day on which the Banda Poroja maidens choose their husbands. A fire is lit in the jungle and the girls arm themselves with red-hot brands, which they apply to the bare skin of every youth who ventures to ask their hand in marriage. If he does not cry out he is accepted. The favoured youth is, of course, let off very lightly, but woe betide the man who proposes to the wrong girl!

Trial by ordeal is still sometimes heard of among these primitive people. I was told of one authentic case, in the Ganjam Hills, in which a dispute was settled by the following amusing ordeal: The two parties were made to stand waist deep in water in the village pond. At a given signal they had to put their heads under water, and the man who could not hold his breath and came up first lost the case.

Superstition is of course very prevalent. I remember one very curious case of superstitious belief, which led to an actual murder. A certain Khond died and his two brothers, when cremating his body, found that the chest portion would not burn properly. They consulted the local witch-doctor about this curious phenomenon, and were told by him that their brother had been bewitched by a certain money-lender, living in an adjoining village, and that there was only one way of removing the spell. In obedience to the witch-doctor's instructions the two brothers went off the same night to the money-lender's house, dragged him out, murdered him, and divided his body into three pieces. They then carried the chest portion home and cremated it successfully. This done, they sat down on the village boundary, and sent

word to the police to come and arrest them for the murder of the money-lender. At their trial they admitted all these facts, and maintained that they had done a pious act. Both they and the witch-doctor were eventually hung for murder, but I have often wondered whether the death penalty was advisable in the case of the two brothers. I recall another instance of superstitious belief, which nearly led to a small rebellion. In the year 1900 a hill man, called Korra Malliah, came down to a little hamlet at the foot of the Vizagapatam Hills, and gave out that he was a reincarnation of one of the Pandava brothers, and that his infant son was the god Krishna. Such was the credulity of the population that in a few months' time he gathered round him a camp of nearly 5,000 disciples, mostly hill people. He eventually proclaimed to his followers that he was destined to conquer the British *raj*, and he proceeded to arm them all with hollow bamboos shaped like guns. These, he explained, would become real guns on the day of battle, while the sand of the river would become gunpowder and the stones bullets. The next thing that happened was that these people murdered two constables, who refused to prostrate themselves before this Hill "Swami." Prompt action was taken by the District Magistrate, who rushed the camp with a large body of armed police. They were resisted by the mob and obliged to open fire, with the result that eleven of the rioters were killed, others wounded or arrested, and the remainder dispersed. The swami died in jail while under trial, and his infant son also died, so that there was no further trouble.

The Dassara is a very important feast among the Agency people, and is celebrated with great pomp by the Maharaja of Jeypore at his capital. It lasts for eighteen days, and on the last day the Maharaja goes in procession with elephants to a mango grove in the north of the town, where the spectators proceed to shoot with guns and rifles at a brinjal fixed on the top of a long bamboo pole. As the shooting has to be done by torchlight, the mark is very difficult to hit. I remember I wasted a number of cartridges in a vain effort to shoot the brinjal. The successful marksman is rewarded by the gift of money and a pair of cloths. It is curious to find that this ceremony is supposed to symbolize the rejoicing which took place when the goddess Kali conquered and killed the buffalo-headed demon, Mahishasura. As you know, it is from the same event that the city of Mysore derives its name.

Among the aboriginal tribes whom I came across I have a vivid and pleasant recollection of the Savaras, who live in the north-east of the Vizagapatam Agency, close to the border of the Ganjam District. In many ways the Savaras are the most primitive of all the hill tribes. They are very timid about meeting any European officer, and the sight of a horse literally terrifies them. It is the custom of the Agent to the Governor when he visits

this tribe to hold a sort of open-air durbār and distribute gifts of cloths, wooden combs, penny looking-glasses, and copper coins, and it was curious to see how highly these trifling gifts were appreciated. On one occasion my predecessor was presiding over one of these durbars, and was seated in the open air surrounded by the Savaras and smoking a cigar. Without thinking he suddenly threw the end of his cigar away over the heads of the crowd. A regular panic was the result of this harmless action, as the Savaras thought it was meant as the signal for a general massacre. With one accord they scattered and fled back to their native wilds, and it took several days for the local Tasildar to collect them again. The Savara costume is most striking, as the men all wear cone-shaped turbans of scarlet cloth, adorned with plumes of white cranes' feathers. I remember thinking for a moment, when I first saw them coming over the hills to my camp, that a large gathering of generals and staff officers were paying me a surprise visit. These people all use bows and arrows. The bows are very picturesque as they are painted in bands of red and white, and ornamented with large bunches of peacock's feathers. As a matter of fact, I found, when I held an impromptu archery meeting, that the Savaras were very poor marksmen, as their arrows were too light in the shaft, being made out of a reed grass. Some years ago a party of these Savaras were taken to Madras to dance before His Majesty the present King-Emperor, when he was Prince of Wales. They were filled with astonishment with the sights of Madras, but what surprised them most was the sea. They had never seen such a big lake, and some of them actually began to drink the sea water before they could be prevented. The Savaras are very expert and industrious cultivators.

The geology of these Agency tracts is not very interesting. So far no minerals of any value have been discovered. There are two limestone caves, one of which I have visited and which was so large that I was able to pitch a tent inside it. There is a curious fish pool not far from this cave full of mahseer, which are so tame that they actually allow their backs to be stroked. There are no temples or other buildings of any architectural interest in the Jeypore country and no traces of any past and buried civilization.

The administration of the Agency tracts is entirely different from that of an ordinary Madras District. The Agent to the Governor is all powerful, and is given even the power of deporting any individual who is dangerous to the public peace, and detaining him as a political prisoner in the plains. There are no ordinary civil courts in the Agency tracts, and the Agent to the Governor and his assistants dispense civil as well as criminal justice. The procedure in civil suits is summary, and vakils have to obtain special permission to appear in Agency courts. There are no registration offices. The

idea underlying this special administration is that we are dealing with a simple and unsophisticated people, who need to be protected against themselves as well as against the unscrupulous money-lender, and there is no doubt that the summary justice which the Agent and his officers mete out is generally appreciated. A simplified administration is also necessary for another reason. The Government of Madras have had frequent trouble with the hill tribes of the Agency, owing to small rebellions, locally known as *Fituries*, which break out periodically, and it is still necessary to maintain four specially armed Police Reserves to deal with these disturbances. A complicated machinery of law and justice would only tend to frighten and upset these simple and timid hill folk, and it is essential under present conditions to concentrate all executive and judicial power in the hands of one supreme authority, the Agent to the Governor.

One of the most extraordinary features in the history of these Agency tracts, as well as those of Ganjam and Orissa, was the prevalence among the Khonds, in comparatively recent times, of the custom of *Meriah*, or human sacrifice. There is a very interesting collection of papers, published by the Government of India in 1854, describing this custom and the steps which were taken for its suppression. In the year 1836, Mr. Russell, of the Madras Civil Service, reported that he had discovered that the Khonds practised female infanticide, and were in the habit of offering human sacrifices to the earth god, Thadha Pennoo, in order to propitiate him to grant favourable seasons. The victims offered could be of any sex and age, but it was essential that they should be purchased. Even children were sometimes sold by their parents as *Meriahs*, or victims. Mr. Russell described an actual sacrifice in the following words :—"For a month prior to the sacrifice there is much feasting and intoxication and dancing round the victim, who is adorned with garlands, and on the day before the performance of the barbarous rite is stupefied with toddy, and is made to sit at the bottom of a post bearing the effigy of a peacock. The assembled multitude then dance around to music, and addressing the earth, say, 'Oh God, we offer the sacrifice to you, give us good crops, seasons and health.' After which they address the victim, and say, 'We bought you with a price and did not seize you. Now we sacrifice you according to custom, and no sin rests on us.' On the following day, the victim being again intoxicated and anointed with oil, each individual present touches the anointed part and wipes the oil on his own head. All then go in procession round the village, bearing the victim with them. On returning to the sacrificial post, they kill a hog in sacrifice, and allow the blood to flow into a pit prepared for the purpose. The victim is then seized, thrown into the pit, and forcibly suffocated in the blood and mire. The officiating priest

then cuts off a piece of the flesh, and buries it near the village idol as an offering to the earth. All the rest go through the same form, and carry the pieces of flesh to their villages, where the same rites are performed."

It is the object of every participator in the sacrifice to carry home a piece of the victim's flesh and bury it in his field.

To illustrate how prevalent human sacrifice was among the Khonds, I may mention that on one occasion two officers rescued 29 "Meriah," or victims. On another occasion, in the year 1838, a Captain Campbell secured the release of no less than 100 persons who were being kept for sacrificial purposes. In 1850, 617 victims were rescued, and in the following year 158. In 1845, a special agency under British officers was established by the Government of India for the suppression of these sacrifices, and its operations were continued until the year 1861. In a report submitted in the year 1854, Col. Campbell gives the total number of "Meriahs" rescued since 1846 as over 2,000. The work of the Commission required both tact and courage on the part of its officers, as they went about the hill tracts with very small escorts and used moral suasion rather than force. They were frequently threatened, and even attacked, but they never, so far as I can discover, took a single life in self-defence. Their efforts were eminently successful, both in regard to human sacrifice and female infanticide, both of which were stamped out. One still hears occasional rumours of a *Meriah* sacrifice in the Agency hills, but I do not think they are founded on fact.

I shall only say a few words, in conclusion, on the future of these Agency tracts and their interesting people. There are only two royal roads to civilization in dealing with these hill tribes. One is, of course, education, and the other in the opening up of the country by means of roads and railways. A great deal has been done in the past in both these directions, and the work is still progressing. It may be that as time goes on the aboriginal tribes of the Agency hills will become educated and civilized, and be able to hold their own as a progressive community, but I rather doubt it, as the usual tendency, in such cases, is for the civilized immigrant from the plains to gradually oust the aborigine, and for the latter either to die out or to become merged in the former. It is, however, of little use to try and prophesy in regard to anything that concerns India and its people. The future of the Agency is in the hands of a sympathetic administration, and there I am content to leave it.

SRINGERI

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY PRAKTANA VIMARSA VICHAKSHANA RAO BAHADUR

R. NARASIMHACHAR, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

AS most of you are aware, Mysore is deservedly famous for its remains of archæological and historical interest. It contains numerous places of considerable antiquity whose records, mostly lithic, give us an insight into their past history and some idea of their former importance either from an historical or a religious point of view. One of these places of considerable religious importance is Śringēri. Some time back the Rev. Slater gave us a short account of this place. I now propose to give you a more detailed account, and trust that some of the facts that I am going to lay before you will not be quite devoid of interest.

The Name.

Śringēri, properly Śringa-giri, a shortened form of Ṛishyaśringa-giri, is so named because it was, according to tradition, the birthplace of the sage Ṛishyaśringa, the son of the sage Vibhāṇḍaka. The name originally denoted the small hill (*giri*) on which the Mallikārjuna temple stands, but has subsequently been applied to the whole village. It was on this hill that the sage Vibhāṇḍaka is said to have had his hermitage and to have been finally absorbed into the *linga* or phallic emblem known as Mallikārjuna on the hill. Ṛishyaśringa, literally "the deer-horned", was so called because he was born of a doe and had a small horn on his head. In sculpture he is represented with the face and a horn of an antelope. Such sculptures may be seen at Dēvanahalli, Śivaganga, Doḍḍaballāpur and other places. The story about him in the Rāmāyaṇa may not perhaps be known to all of you. He was brought up in the forest by his father and grew up to man's estate without having ever seen a woman. There was great drought in the country of Anga, and the king Lōmapāda, was advised that if the youthful recluse could be brought to his capital and married to the princess Śintā, the drought would come to an end. Accordingly, a bevy of

fair damsels was despatched in order to entice the young saint from his hermitage. They are said to have made their last halt at Nārve, a few miles from Śringēri, before essaying the power of their charms. Allurements soon worked their effect on the unsophisticated youth. His curiosity being strongly excited to see more of these beautiful and gentle creatures so new to him, he was led away and conveyed to Anga. The desired rain fell, and he was married to Śāntā. This Śāntā was the adopted daughter of Lōmapāda, her real father being Daśaratha. Ṛishyaśringa afterwards became the priest of Daśaratha, and performed for him the "aśvamēdha" or horse sacrifice which resulted in the birth of Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. This episode in the epic is graphically represented in the sculptures referred to above.

At Kigga, about six miles from Śringēri, is a temple known as the Śringēśvara, which is dedicated to Ṛishyaśringa. The *linga* in the temple is called Śringēśvara, a shortened form of Ṛishyaśringēśvara, because, according to tradition, the sage was absorbed into the *linga*. The latter is said to have Śāntā, wife of the sage, represented at the left side, and a horn over the head. The temple is a pretty large structure in the Dravidian style. The central hall has four sculptured pillars, some of the sculptures showing an ingenious combination of men, animals, etc. One of them is noteworthy as representing the incident of the sage being conveyed by dancing girls to king Lōmapāda's capital. The palanquin, formed by the women themselves, is shown here as being supported by two antelopes. This feature is not found in the sculptures at Dēvanahalli and other places mentioned above. Incidentally, I may mention that in the right shrine of the vestibule is a figure of Gaṇēśa with only two hands and with its trunk turned to the right. Both these features are very rare. Kigga is of considerable antiquity, as its name occurs in inscriptions of about the seventh century found in the temple.¹

The Village.

In some inscriptions Śringēri is also named Śringapura, the city of Śringa, i.e., Ṛishyaśringa. It is situated on the left bank of the river Tungā in the midst of hills, dales and forests and is an ideal place for one wishing to lead a quiet contemplative life. The village is the headquarters of the high priest of the Advaita or Smārta section of the Brahman community and is well known all over India for its antiquity and sanctity, being the chief of the four places where in the eighth century the great Advaita philosopher, Śankarāchārya, is said to have established *mathas* or monasteries, the other places being Dvārakā in the west, Badari in the north and Jagannāth in the east. He is said to have appointed his four disciples, namely, Suiśvara

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Koppa 37-41.

Padmapāda, Tūṭaka and Hastāmalaka, as the heads respectively, of these four monasteries.

The spiritual throne founded by Śāṅkarāchārya at Śṛīṅgeri has been occupied down to the present day by a regular succession of *Svāmis*, though the place is not mentioned in inscriptions till the time of Vidyātīrtha, one of the greatest, if not the greatest, among the successors of Śāṅkarāchārya, who sat on the spiritual throne in the first half of the fourteenth century. During this period the place appears to have enjoyed the special patronage of the early Vijayanagar kings. From inscriptions recently discovered we learn that in 1346 Harihara I, and in 1356 Bukka I, came to Śṛīṅgeri to pay homage to Vidyātīrtha and made grants for the livelihood of his and his disciple Bhāratī-tīrtha's attendants. Subsequently the place came under the special care of the Ikkēri chiefs, one of whom, Venkaṭappa-Nāyaka, is said to have re-established Śṛīṅgeri in 1621. Another chief of this dynasty, Śivappa-Nāyaka, is said to have restored to the *matha*, in 1652, its lands which had been unlawfully seized by some unscrupulous people.³ From some of the records in the *matha* we learn that the place was raided by the Mahrāttas under Paraśurām Bhāu in 1791, and that the marauders not only plundered the *matha* of all its valuable property worth sixty lakhs but also committed the sacrilege of displacing the image of the goddess Śāradā. The village consists of a long street, with a loop on one side, encircling the small hill mentioned above on which the Mallikārjuna temple stands. Adjoining the *matha* stands a substantial stone structure built in the modern style about twenty years ago, which is called the new *matha*. The Svāmi stays here for the *chaturmāsya* during the rainy season. At other times he lives in a building on the other side of the river free from the bustle of the village, and visits the temples of Vidyāśankara, Śāradā, Janārdana, etc., on this side of the river every Friday. The building on the other side of the river, situated in the middle of a garden known as Narasimha-vana, is eminently fitted for a contemplative life. A good metallic figure of Śāṅkarāchārya, about 1½ feet high, seated with the right hand in the *chin-mudra* (or teaching) and the left hand in the *varada* (or boon—conferring) pose, is worshipped here. A temple is built in the garden in memory of the late Svāmi Sacchidananda-Śivābhinava-Narasimha-Bhāratī, who died in 1912, and a marble image of his set up. About fifty students are fed at the expense of the *matha* and taught literature, logic, grammar, philosophy, etc., by the Svāmi and other Pandits.

A copperplate inscription, recently discovered, records a grant by the Vijayanagar king Harihara II, in 1386, to three scholars named Nārāyaṇa-vāṇapēya-yāji, Paṇḍari-dīkshita and Narahari-sūnayāji, who helped Śāyaṇa

in the composition of the commentaries on the Vēdas. The descendants of these scholars are even now the recipients of special honors in the *matha*. The houses of the first two scholars, named the first and second houses, once stood on the site in front of the new *matha* and that of the third scholar, named the third house, in some other part of the village.

The Temples.

There are more than fifty temples at Śringēri, including a Jaina *basti*, all of which are in the enjoyment of either some *inām* or money grant. Most of them are tiled buildings situated in the court-yard of dwelling houses. A few are at some distance from the village. The most remarkable of these is the artistically executed Vidyāśankara temple which, according to tradition, was built in the Śaka year 1260, the year Bahudhānya (A.D. 1338), though from a newly discovered inscription at Śringēri, there is strong reason to infer that it was erected soon after 1356. It is noteworthy both for its design and execution, and is perhaps the most ornate structure in the Dravidian style in the whole of the State. Outwardly it exhibits a few features of buildings in the Hoysala style, such as (1) a raised terrace, about three feet high, closely following the contour of the structure, on which the temple stands; and (2) rows of animals, Purāṇic scenes and large images on the outer walls, which have led some writers to suppose that it is a Hoysala structure¹ but a closer examination of the exterior and a look into the interior will clearly show that it is a Dravidian structure. With the close of the Hoysala rule the erection of temples in the Hoysala style seems to have come to an end, seeing that no temples of that style dating in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries have been met with. The plan of the temple is unique: it is apsidal at both the ends. Even temples apsidal at one end are rare in India, this feature being found only in a few Buddhist *chaityas* of the Mauryan period, a few caves at Kārle, Ajanta, Kanhēri and Ellora, a Vishnu temple of about the seventh century at Aihole in the Bijapur District and another at Mahābalipuram. The present plan is somewhat similar to that of Trajan's basilica at Rome, of A.D. 98, with apses at both the ends.² The formation of the tower, too, is peculiar. The temple faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha* or adytum, a *sukhanāsi* or vestibule, a *pradakshina* or passage for circumambulation around both, and a *navaranga* or central hall. The last has three entrances on the east, north and south, as also the *pradakshina*, but in the latter case the entrances face three niches on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* containing good seated figures, about 2½ feet high, of Brahma with Sarasvati on the south Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa on the west and Umāmahēśvara on the north. All the

1. Mysore, II, 409; *Journal of the Mythic Society*, II, 252.

2. See Fletcher's *History of Architecture*, 139.

six door-ways have fine *dvārapalakas* or door-keepers on the jambs, and figures of Gajalakshmi on the lintel and pediment. The outer walls have from the bottom friezes of (1) horses, (2) elephants, (3) lions, (4) Purāṇic scenes, etc., and (5) dwarfs, (2) to (5) being each surmounted by a projecting cornice, while a moulding of the same level comes between (1) and (2). The first frieze also shows a few camels here and there. The elephants are better executed than the horses. Above the frieze of dwarfs comes a row of large figures surmounted by eaves in two tiers one over the other. The number of large figures is altogether 104.

Almost all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon are represented here and a large number of Purāṇic scenes illustrated. The temple as far as it goes may be considered to be a veritable museum of sculptures for the study of Hindu iconography. The Purāṇic frieze represents in part scenes from the Śaiva-Purāṇas. One panel represents Śaṅkarācārya as teaching his four disciples who are seated on either side with books on *vyāsapīthas* or stools placed in front. There are also several other disciples further on on both sides holding books in their hands. The frieze also contains representations of various kinds of *yōga* postures and figures of sages seated on various animals such as the tortoise, the fish, the lion, the boar, the antelope, the scorpion, the *makara* and the snake. The tower is a fine tall structure with an embankment in front as in Hoysala temples, the front face of which has a fine figure of Śiva carved on it. Chains of stone rings hang from the eaves at several of the corners of the temple. At every doorway there is a flight of steps leading into the interior.

The interior is not in any way inferior to the exterior of the temple. The *navaranga* is a grand hall supported by twelve sculptured pillars with lions and riders, the corner pillars having lions and riders on two faces, the whole pillar being carved out of a single block of stone. Many of the lions have balls of stone put into their mouths which must have been prepared when making the lions, seeing that they can be moved about but cannot be taken out. Each pillar has sculptured on its back a sign of the zodiac such as the ram, the bull and so forth ; and it is stated that the pillars are so arranged that the rays of the sun fall on them in the order of the solar months ; that is to say, the rays of the sun fall on the pillar marked with the ram in the first solar month and so on with the others. Each pillar has likewise carved on it the particular planet or planets ruling over the particular *rasi* or zodiacal sign represented by it, while the sun, being the lord of all the *rasis* is sculptured on the top panel of all the pillars. The height of the *navaranga* is about 18 feet. The central ceiling, about 8 feet square, is an exquisite piece of workmanship with a panel, about 4 feet square and 2 feet

deep, in the middle, containing a beautiful lotus bud of five tiers of concentric petals, at which four parrots are shown as pecking on the four sides head downwards. In all the four directions between the capitals of the two central pillars opposite the entrances, four panels, measuring 6 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, of elegant floral design, are added on to the ceiling, and above the lintels of these pillars stands a panel containing three figures between pilasters on all the sides. The stones used are gigantic in size. The floor is paved with slabs measuring nine feet by four feet, the central one being nine feet square.

In the Gaṇapati shrine to the right of the vestibule is also kept a small steel figure of the planet Saturn which is always immersed in oil. Vows are made to it, and it is only on occasions of special worship that it is brought out to the *navaranga* and bathed in oil. It is believed that nothing pleases this planet so much as an oil bath. There is also kept in the vestibule a mutilated wooden figure of Sarasvati which is said to be very old. Tradition has it that during a Muhammadan incursion of former times this image was decorated with jewels and placed in front of the walled-up *garbhagriha* of the Śārada temple; that the raiders after taking possession of all the jewels, mutilated the figure and threw it into the river; and that it was afterwards recovered and kept in the temple. These vicissitudes have not deprived the image of regular worship. The *linga* in the *garbhagriha* is called Vidyāśankara. It was set up in memory of the great *guru* Vidyātīrtha who is said to have engaged himself in a kind of meditation called *lambika-yōga* and departed this life. Vidyātīrtha's is perhaps the greatest name in the list of the Svāmis of the Śringēri *matha*. We know scarcely anything about his predecessors on the spiritual throne at Śringēri. He appears to have procured a high status for the *matha*, and his sanctity and learning were so great that he was specially honoured and revered by the early Vijayanagar kings Harihara I and Bukka I. It is likely that he helped the royal brothers in founding the Vijayanagar kingdom, though his disciple Vidyāraṇya is generally believed to have done so. The latter may have continued the policy of his *guru* and strengthened the foundation. Images of Vidyātīrtha set up soon after his death are being worshipped even now. Two such images are found at Simhagiri and Vidyāraṇyapura in the neighbourhood of Śringēri. Built of hard granite, the Vidyāśankara temple shows elegant workmanship both in the interior and the exterior. It is a worthy memorial of the great Vidyātīrtha. From a new inscription found at Śringēri, the consecration of the temple appears to have taken place soon after 1356 under the supervision of Bhāratīrtha, a disciple of Vidyātīrtha, who granted 120 *erittis* to various Brahmans on the occasion.

The newly restored Śārada temple, situated to the north of the Vidyāśankara, is a fine structure in the Dravidian style. It faces east and has three

entrances on the north, south and east, the east entrance, which is the main entrance, having two open *mantapas* at the sides inside. The *navaranga* is an open hall with two rows of four pillars at the sides, all the pillars except two being carved with large female figures in relief in front. Of the latter, two are *dvarapalikas* or female door-keepers, and two more, facing each other, Mahishāsūramardini and Rājarājēśvari. The figures are well carved and a Gandharva female figure above Rājarājēśvari is specially so. The temple bears testimony to the artistic skill of the present-day sculptors of Southern India who were employed in building and ornamenting it. It has two metallic images of Śārādā or Sarasvatī, one slightly larger than the other, about 3 feet and 2½ feet high respectively, there being no stone image of the goddess. They are equally old dating back to the time of Vidyātīrtha, who is said to have set up the larger image on the spot where a mystical diagram (*yantra*) had previously been fixed by Śāṅkarācārya, and the smaller one at its side. The existence of two images is accounted for by the statement that Vidyātīrtha not being satisfied with the size of the smaller image which was first prepared, had the larger one made under his own supervision. Both the images are worshipped. They are seated figures with four hands, the attributes in three of them being a rosary, a vessel of nectar and a book, while the remaining hand is in the *abhaya* or fear-removing attitude with the *chinmudrā* or teaching pose added. These attributes appear to be peculiar to the image of Sarasvatī at Śrīngēri, seeing that a noose and an elephant-goad invariably form two of the attributes of this goddess elsewhere. It was the larger image that was displaced during the raid of the Mahrāṭṭas in 1791, as stated above. For the purposes of processions during festivals there are two smaller images, one, a fine seated figure of silver, about one foot high, and the other, a standing bronze figure, about two feet high. Both have the same attributes as the larger figures. The silver image is used on all occasions when *āgamic* rites are performed; it is also sometimes taken out with the Svāmi when he goes on tour. The other image is used during festivals like the Navarātri, etc. For the car festival, however, both are used.

To the west of the Vidyāśāṅkara temple are situated twelve small shrines known as *Samādhi-gudis* or tomb-temples, mostly built on the tombs of former Svāmis of the *matha*, having a *linga* set up in each. On the site of the first and second houses in front of the new *matha*, mentioned above, are now built two small temples enshrining two old images, one of Rāma and the other of what is known as Maleyāḷa-Brahma. The latter is a fairly stout figure, about 4½ feet high, wearing sandals and holding a mace in the right hand, the other hand hanging by the side. There is a curious story related

about it. Maleyāḷa-Brahma was a Brahmarākshasa or evil spirit whom Vidyāraṇya brought with him with a promise that he would feed him to his heart's content. Without propitiating him, no entertainment or feast could be organised or successfully carried out at Śringēri. Even the oil or ghee intended for preparing eatables refused to boil. It appears that till recently there was a family at Śringēri, one of the members of which used to become possessed by this spirit every year. In these unpropitious times, however, the spirit has become perfectly harmless. But he is being worshipped all the same.

The Mallikārjuna temple, to which I have already referred, is a large Dravidian structure facing east, situated on the small hill, Śringa-giri, which is ascended by a flight of about one hundred steps. The linga of the temple is identified with the sage Vibhāṇḍaka, the father of Ṛishyaśringa. In the court-yard is a pillar, now enclosed, on which is sculptured a crude figure of Gaṇapati, known as Kambhāda-Gaṇapati or Pillar-Gaṇapati, which is said to have been drawn by Abhinava-Narasimha-Bhārati, a Svāmi of the maṭha (1599-1622) with a piece of turmeric. The sound of the pillar on the back is hard above and below the figure, but hollow in the middle where the figure is. This circumstance is looked upon as a miracle. It is also stated that the outline of the figure, which was quite obscure once, is now becoming clearer and clearer year after year. An inscription in the temple (Śringēri 4) records a grant for this god in 1685 by Siddammāji, the daughter of the Ikkēri chief, Śivappa-Nāyaka. Tradition has it that Śankarācārya had four temples built in the four directions for the protection of the village, namely, the Kālabhairava in the east, the Durgā in the south, the Ānjanēya in the west and the Kālīkā in the north.

Records in the Maṭha.

There are several sets of copperplate inscriptions in the maṭha. Of these, three, dated 1384, 1386 and 1397, record grants by the Vijayanagar king Harihara II; two, dated 1432, by Dēva-Rāya II; one, dated 1661, by Śrī-Ranga-Rāya II; two, dated 1629 and 1729, by the Ikkēri chiefs Virabhadra-Nāyaka and Sōmaśekhara-Nāyaka II; and two, dated 1737 and 1760, by the Mysore king Krishna-Rāja-Oḍeyar II. Some of the gold and silver vessels and other articles in the maṭha bear inscriptions giving the names of the donors. A tiara set with precious stones, a gold palanquin, and four silver vessels were presents from Krishna-Rāja-Oḍeyar III; and a jewelled gold *pāṇḍan* (box for keeping betel leaves), two jewelled gold cups, and three silver vessels, from his queens. There is also a silver throne presented by a chief of Jamkhaṇḍi. The maṭha has nearly 200 *sanads*, ranging in date from 1629 to 1867, many of which are of considerable interest and importance from an historical

and social point of view. Of these, 26 relate to the rulers of Ikkēri, 2 to the rulers of Santebennūr, 2 to the rulers of Coorg, 1 to the ruler of Jugulī, 1 to the ruler of Bēlūr, 1 to Pēshwa Bāji Rao, 2 to the Nizam of Hyderabad, 1 to the East India Company, and 148 to the rulers of Mysore. Of the last, again, 8 belong to Krishna-Rāja-Oḍeyar II, 1 to Chāma-Rāja-Oḍeyar VIII, 3 to Hyder, 30 to Tippu, 38 to Purnaiya, and 67 to Krishna-Rāja-Oḍeyar III. The *sanads* testify to the high esteem in which the Śvāmis of the maṭha were held by the various rulers and chiefs. Most of them record grants of land or concessions made to the maṭha. Several of them recognise the full powers of the Śvāmi to order enquiries into the conduct of the disciples and to punish the delinquents, and call upon local officers to afford all facilities to the representatives of the maṭha in carrying out this work. Special interest, however, attaches to the letters addressed to the Śvāmis of the maṭha by Hyder and Tippu. They are couched in respectful language and breathe a spirit of reverence for the holy personages, though of an alien faith. They reveal to us some astonishing features of Tippu's character and prove that he is generally painted blacker than he really was. I shall give later on a few details about the *sanads*.

There are, moreover, in the maṭha several cart-loads of *kaḍitas*, nearly 200 years old, stored in two or three big rooms. A *kaḍita* is cloth covered with charcoal paste, folded in the form of a book and written on with a pencil of potstone. Most of the *kaḍitas* contain the accounts of the maṭha, while a few contain copies of stone and copperplate inscriptions and several matters of importance relating to the maṭha and its Śvāmis. A careful examination of these *kaḍitas* is likely to reveal several interesting facts with regard to the history of the maṭha, and it is earnestly hoped that the authorities of the maṭha will arrange for this examination before the *kaḍitas* are lost or destroyed by moths or white ants.

Jewels in the Maṭha.

A few of the gold and silver articles in the maṭha have already been noticed in connection with the inscriptions on them. The jewels of the goddess Śārādā are of very great value, made of solid gold and set with diamonds, emeralds, rubies and other precious stones. There are also numerous pearl necklaces with fine pendants set with precious stones. Besides these, there are many valuable articles, a few of which deserve mention :—Figures of Vēṇugōṇāla and Śrīnivāsa, both flanked by consorts, all made of rubies ; Nandi made of a single large pearl ; an emerald maṇṭapa with a golden linga inside ; a gold *panchapātre* or drinking vessel of a cylindrical form set with diamonds ; a gold *uddharane* or spoon set with rubies, the hollow part consisting of a big ruby which has been scooped out ; a gold mask of the

Chandramaulīśvara linga set with rubies and diamonds; a conch winding to the right set with rubies; and a large gold maṇṭapa of fine workmanship, said to have been presented by a former Maharaja of Travancore. There are besides several vessels made of solid gold, to say nothing of silver maṇṭapas, *prabharalis*, lampstands, pitchers and so forth. The Mahrāṭṭa raid of 1791 during which the maṭha was despoiled of valuables worth 60 lakhs, as stated above, probably accounts for the fact that no jewels or other valuables, older than the time of Krishna-Rāja-Oḍeyar III, are forthcoming, with the single exception of the ruby Vēṇugūpāla which is an old possession of the maṭha, being referred to in records dated 1700, 1759 and 1822, and which must somehow have escaped the notice of the wicked marauders. In a letter, dated 1867, of Krishna-Rāja-Oḍeyar III giving suggestions for the proper management of the maṭha, reference is made incidentally to some images presented to the maṭha by his predecessor Kaṇṭhīraṇa-Narasa-Rāja-Oḍeyar (1638-1659) with a request that particular care may be taken of them. It is very probable that the ruby Vēṇugūpāla was one of these. I may also mention here two necklaces known as *puttali-saras* of the goddess, Śārādā, consisting of various gold coins numbering in all 124. These coins were found on examination to consist of three *muḥars* of the Mughal emperors, one *muḥar* and one half *muḥar* of the East India Company, 114 Venetian ducats and five coins ranging in date from 1715 to 1849, probably of Belgium.

The Library.

The library of the maṭha contains a good number of palm-leaf manuscripts and a large number of printed books. They are kept neatly arranged in glass almiras. The manuscripts contain numerous unpublished works in the Sanskrit language in the shape of poems, biographies, philosophical, religious and grammatical treatises, and commentaries. Most of the manuscripts are written in Nāgari characters.

Details of the Records.

Now I proceed to give some details of the *sanads* and other records in the maṭha. The letters from the Ikkēri chiefs, when addressed to the Śvāmīs, end with the word *binuaha* (respectful communication) in Nāgari characters, which stands for the signature also; but when addressed to others, they bear a seal at the end, containing, as a rule, the word Vīrabhadra in Nāgari characters. From one of Vīrabhadra-Nāyaka's (1629-1645) letters we learn that a complaint was made to him by the Śṛīṅgēri maṭha about one Tīrthahallī Oḍeyar using unauthorised insignia, whereupon the chief writes to the Śvāmi thus :—"You are the Jagadguru, and so have full powers to call upon *saṃyāsīs* (religious mendicants) and others to perform their religious duties

properly and to enjoy the customary honours within the limits prescribed for them; and, in case they transgress the bounds, you have every authority to teach them a lesson and bring them to their senses." -

A *nirṇ* or order from Śivappa-Nāyaka (1645-1660), addressed to one Tirumala-bhaṭṭa, tells him that the malversations going on from the year 1651 in connection with the conduct of worship and the charities have come to his notice, as also his negligence in leaving the *agrahāra* or Brahman village in an insanitary condition and in not getting transcripts made of decaying manuscripts. This gives us an idea of the interest taken by the rulers in sanitation and preservation of literature. Another *nirṇ* from Basappa-Nāyaka I, dated 1697, is addressed to local officers calling upon them to help the representatives of the Śringēri Śvāmi in their enquiries as regards religious duties and contributions due to the maṭha in the Ikkēri kingdom and to see that those who disregarded the decision of the representatives were summoned and forced to abide by it. From another record we learn that on the pontiff Sāchehidānanda-Bhārati falling ill in 1739, a letter was written to Basappa-Nāyaka II (1739-1754) informing him of the illness of the Śvāmi and asking him to arrange for a suitable successor. This shows that the approval of the ruler was considered necessary in the matter of succession to the pontifical seat.

A letter, dated 1800, from Pēshwa Pandit Bāji Rao Ballāl, Pradhān, addressed to the Śvāmi, states that in obedience to the Śvāmi's *śrīmukha* or letter it has been decided to pay *agra-pūja* or first honors to the Śringēri maṭha in all assemblies that meet for the performance of religious ceremonies and requests him to send representatives to Poona and other places for accepting the same. The Pēshwa calls himself a disciple of the Śvāmi. A *rahadāri* or passport issued by the East India Company in 1805 on behalf of the Śringēri Śvāmi, mentions him as the *guru* of Paṇḍita Pradhāna Pēshwa Bahadur.

From another letter, dated 1781, from the Hyderabad State we learn that, on a representation made by the agent of the maṭha on the strength of a former *sanad* issued by the Nizam's Government with regard to the honors to be shown to the Svāmi and other matters relating to the maṭha, an order was issued under the seal of Nizam Ali Khān to all the officers concerned intimating that the privileges accorded to the Svāmi in the former *sanad* were renewed, that the practice of people paying contributions to the maṭha on marriage and other occasions should be continued, that the property of the disciples who died without heirs should vest in the maṭha and that the Svāmi had full powers to order enquiries into the conduct of the disciples and to punish the delinquents.

The letters addressed to the Svāmis of the matha by Hyder and Tippu are of great interest. The father and son do not forget to send occasionally valuable cloths for the goddess Śārādā and shawls for the Svāmi. It is also recorded that Tippu sent a silver palanquin and a pair of silver *chauris* for the Śārādā temple. In one of his letters Hyder requests the Svāmi to pay a visit to Pēshwa Ragunātha Rao, makes suitable arrangements for the journey and sends Rs. 10,500 for expenses. After offering *salām* he proceeds thus:—“ You are a great and holy personage. It is nothing but natural for every one to cherish a desire to pay respects to you. As Sāhēh Ragunātha Rao desires me to send you to him so that he may pay his homage to you, I request that you will accordingly undertake the journey and pay him a visit. For your journey I have sent by Rāmāji 1 elephant, 5 horses, 1 palanquin and 5 camels; gold cloth for the goddess, 5 pieces of silk cloth for the standard (*nīsāni*), a pair of shawls for your use and ten thousand and five hundred rupees for expenses. Two pairs of cloth have also been sent.”

Tippu's letters generally bear a round rayed seal at the top, the paper used being invariably of a red colour. They range in date from 1791 to 1798 and bear dates in the years of the Maulūdi era which dates from the birth of Muhammad. The names of the Muhammadan years and months according to the *abdas* system newly introduced by him are given with, in most cases, the corresponding Hindu cyclic years, months and *tithis* or lunar days. When addressed to the Svāmis, they open thus:—To Sachchidānanda-Bhārati-Svāmi of Śringēri, possessed of the usual titles *śrīmat-paramahansa* and so forth, the *salām* of Tippu Sultān Bādshāh; and when addressed to others, thus:—*jīlulā hul maliku-l mannan Tippū Sultān Bādshāh Ghāzi khallad Allāh milk-ahu va sultānat ahu*, the latter portion meaning ‘May God perpetuate his kingdom and rule’.

Of these letters, 17 are dated in 1791, 5 in 1792, 2 in 1793, 1 each in 1794, 1795 and 1796, and 2 in 1798. Several of them refer to an attack on the country by three groups of enemies whose destruction the Svāmi is requested to bring about by the performance of some religious ceremonies such as *sata-chandi-japa* and *sahasra-chandi-japa*; and several more refer to the great loss sustained by the matha in consequence of a raid by the Mahrāṭṭas under Paraśurām Bhau, during which not only was the matha despoiled of all its valuables worth 60 lakhs but even the sacred image of Śārādā was profaned by being pulled out of its seat. In every one of his letters addressed to the Svāmi Tippu gives expression to the high regard in which he holds him and entreats him to pray for the welfare of himself and his kingdom and to send him his blessings. The first letter addressed to the Svāmi is dated the 30th of the month Rablāni (Phālgunī) of the year Shetā (Sādhārṇa)

A.M. 1218 (1791). It says:—"We are punishing the hostile armies that have marched against our country and are harassing our subjects. You are a holy personage and an ascetic. As it is your duty to be solicitous about the welfare of the many, we request you to pray to God along with the other Brahmans of the maṭha, so that all the enemies may suffer defeat and take to flight and all the people of our country live happily."

From another, dated in the month of Samari (Āshāḍha) of A.M. 1219 (1791), we learn that Mahrāṭṭa horsemen raided Śringēri, killed and wounded many Brahmans and other people, pulled out the goddess Śārādā and carried off everything found in the maṭha; that the Svāmi having therefore left Śringēri, was living with four of his disciples at Kārakaḷa; and that on his writing to Tippu informing him of all this and telling him that without Government help in the shape of money and things it was not possible to re-consecrate the image of the goddess Śārādā, the latter replied thus:—"People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this Kali age in accordance with the verse

hasadbbhiḥ kriyatē karma rudadbbhir anubhūyatē

'people do evil deeds smiling, hut will suffer the consequences weeping.' Treachery to *gurus* will undoubtedly result in the destruction of the line of descent. An order is enclosed to the Āsaf of Nagar directing him to give on behalf of Government 200 *rahati* in cash and 200 *rahati* worth of grain for the consecration of the goddess Śārādā. You may also get the necessary things from the *inam* villages. Having thus consecrated the goddess and fed the Brahmans, please pray for the increase of our prosperity and the destruction of our enemies."

Another, dated the 2nd of the month Haideri (Bhādrapada) of the same year, acknowledges the receipt of information that it is proposed to have the ceremonies *sata-chandi-japa* and *sahasra-chandi-japa* performed for the destruction of the traitors to *gurus*, and requests the Svāmi to have the same ceremonies performed also for the destruction of the three groups of enemies (*i.e.*, the English, the Mahrāṭṭas and the Nizam) who are harassing the country, and to send details of the expenses to be incurred. In another, dated in the next month of the same year, Tippu acknowledges receipt of the details of expenditure to be incurred for the ceremonies, expresses pleasure at the Svāmi's decision to have *sahasra-chandi-japa* performed for the welfare of the country and the destruction of the enemies, intimates that orders have been issued to the Āsaf to supply everything that may be required and that the Amildar of Koppa-holli and Triyambakarāya, Mutsaddi of the Nagar Āsaf-kachēri, have been directed to go to Śringēri, store up all the necessary things and supply them as required, and requests the Svāmi to have the cere-

mony performed according to the prescribed rites for one *maṇḍala* or 48 days, making money gifts to the Brahmans engaged and feeding 1000 Brahmans every day. In the next month he writes another letter to the Svāmi expressing his pleasure at hearing that the ceremony was duly commenced and informing him that, as desired, a *paravāṇāh* has been sent to Muhammad Razā to see that no disturbance is caused by mischievous people during the conduct of the ceremony. One more letter, dated in 1793, says :—" You are the Jagadguru. You are always performing penance in order that the whole world may prosper and that the people may be happy. Please pray to God for the increase of our prosperity. In whatever country holy personages like yourself may reside, that country will flourish with good showers and crops. Why should you live so long in a foreign country ? Please finish your work soon and return."

The last letter that I shall quote is dated in the month of Rāzi (Māgha) of the year Sāz (Pingala), A.M. 1225 (1798). In this he advises despatch of a *pañchāṅga* or calendar newly prepared under orders of his Government for the year Kālayukti, requests the Svāmi to direct the *jāsyas* or astrologers at Śringēri to make use of it and asks for his blessings.

We may now proceed to notice briefly a few of the letters issued during the period of Pūṁaiya's regency, ranging in date from 1801 to 1810, and of those written by Krishna-Rāja-Oḍeyar II, between 1811 and 1867. A record of 1803, addressed to the Svāmi Sachchidānanda-Bhārati (1770-1814), refers to a severe drought in that year and requests him to remove it by organising the performance of some religious ceremonies. Some remarks made in the letter about the duties of the Government and the Brahmans are interesting. It says :—" A severe drought has overtaken the whole kingdom including Pattana-sime. For conducting *japa* and *abhishēka* for a period of 24 days at Mahishi, Kigga and Sūmapura, sums of 300 or 400 *varahas* have been sent to each place from the palace. *Agraharas* and *bhattamānyas* are being enjoyed as usual by the Brahmans. The object of the rulers in bestowing these is that the Brahmans who enjoy them should on occasions of drought or other calamity assemble together, perform *japa* and *abhishēka* and free the country from it. On the other hand, it is the duty of the rulers to protect the Brahmans from thieves, marauders and other wicked people. If they do not do so, they incur blame. If the Brahmans avert the drought by the performance of *japa*, etc., they will attain happiness both here and hereafter. They have the ability to do it ; and if they will not do it, they are to blame. As there are many such Brahmans at Śringēri, please see that they all assemble together, perform with earnestness *varuṇa-japa*, *Rudrabhushēka* and other ceremonies for a period of 24 days and thus ward off

the calamity. If they do not agree to do so, their *vr̥ittis* may be resumed the maṭha and ornaments prepared out of the income for the gods who may favour us with good showers." In another letter Pūrnaiya expresses his pleasure at the fall of rain as the result of the Svāmi's prayers to the god Mallikārjuna.

A few more of these records are of social interest, being addressed to local officers telling them that the Mārkas should be warned against adopting the customs and observances of the Brahmans, that the Dēvāṅgas should not be permitted to wear the sacred thread, that no interest higher than 12 per cent per annum should be allowed to be demanded, that fallen women should be made over to the charge of the maṭha, and that unclaimed property within certain limits should go to the maṭha. They show that the Government did not refrain from interfering in social and religious matters when such interference was deemed necessary. In two *nirūps* dated 1806 and 1807, addressed to the Amildars and Killedars of Mysore, Haradanahalli, Yaḷandūr, Tāyūru, Guṇḍal, Terakaṇāmbi and other places, Pūrnaiya tells them that information has reached him to the effect that the Mārkas living in their Taluks, having given up their hereditary customs and observances, are adopting those of the Brahmans; that, the Mārkas being disciples of the Śṛiṅgēri maṭha, the representatives of that maṭha are sent to enquire into their conduct and keep them within their bounds; and that, in case they disobey or oppose the representatives, they should be arrested and sent to hajūr. The officers are directed to afford every facility to the representatives in dealing properly with the delinquents and to see that no obstructions are put in the way of their inflicting condign punishment on them. Another *nirūp*, dated 1807, addressed to the Amildars and Killedars of Aramanegaḍi-sīme, runs thus:—"We hear that a Śūdra, calling himself the *guru* of the Dēvāṅgas, is causing trouble by proposing to make them wear the sacred thread, which they had never worn, and to give them *upadēsa* (initiation). The Śūdras never had the sacred thread, nor initiation. The Śūdra who is attempting to introduce this innovation ought to be punished. The Svāmi has written that the Dēvāṅgas are the disciples of the Śṛiṅgēri maṭha. Tell the Dēvāṅgas not to listen to the Śūdra's words, as otherwise they will be punished by the representatives of the maṭha for their objectionable procedure. If the Śūdra still persists in giving trouble, expel him from the town." Another, dated 1810, addressed to Mallappaiya, Subedar of Śṛiṅgēri, tells him that in consequence of the merchants extorting usurious rates of interest the raiyats are becoming paupers, and that the Amildars have, therefore, been directed to attach the property of those who receive for interest more than one *varaka* per month on 100 *varukas*; and orders him to bring the same rule into force in Śṛiṅgēri-sīme also.

A record of 1826 says that the practice till then has been to include fallen women of the families of the disciples of the maṭha among the items of special *charādāya* (income from the sale of unowned living creatures) of the Sarkār, and directs that thenceforward such women should be made over to the charge of the maṭha and a receipt obtained. Another of 1823, addressed to the Amildars, tells them that, when any of the disciples of the maṭha die without heirs, if the property left by them, after deducting Government dues, if any, does not exceed 1000 rupees, it should, after obtaining satisfactory evidence of the absence of heirs, be handed over to the maṭha and a receipt obtained ; and that in case it exceeds that amount a report should be submitted to *hajur* for orders.

I shall close this paper with a reference to two more records which are also of some social interest. They refer respectively to the use of unusual insignia by the Svāmi of the Hariharapura maṭha in disrespect to the Śringēri Svāmi and to the high-handedness of the Svāmi of the Puttige maṭha in respect of the Haiga maṭha which is said to be under the jurisdiction of the Śringēri maṭha. One of them, dated 1807, addressed to the Amildar of Koppa, says :—" It appears that the Svāmi of the Hariharapura maṭha is using unusual insignia of respect such as *adda-palki* (cross palanquin), etc., to which he has never been entitled. Inform the Svāmi that he ought not to do so. The disciples of the Śringēri maṭha may seize the insignia and cause a disturbance. The Svāmi has evidently done this at the instigation of Hechche Timmayya. The latter was once arrested for his mischief and fined 4000 rupees, but subsequently the fine was excused. He seems to have forgotten this in his pride of wealth. Warn him that in case he continue to behave like this, he shall be fined 12,000 rupees and severely punished." The other, of 1810, addressed to the Amildar of Kavaledurga, tells him that information has been received to the effect that the Svāmi of the Puttige maṭha, having sent for the Shanbog of the Haiga maṭha of Tirthahalli, had him tortured and took possession of all his things, and orders him to enquire into the matter. It also tells him that the Haiga maṭha being under the jurisdiction of the Śringēri maṭha, the latter has to hold a proper enquiry.

THE AGE OF THE THIRD TAMIL SANGAM

BY K. G. SANKARA AIYAR, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

WE know from *Manimekalai* that Buddhism was flourishing in South India at the close of the Sangam age. Since Buddhism was introduced in South India for the first time in C. 250 B.C. by Asoka, we can infer that the close of the Sangam age could not have been earlier than 250 B.C. Again in *Silappadigaram* (XXVI. 181-6) we have a list of the Aryan princes said to have been conquered by Seran Senkuttuvan on his northern expedition.

உத்தரன் வித்திராணருத்திரன் பைரவன்

சித்திரன் சிங்கன் தனுத்தரன்சிலேதன்

கனகவிரயர்,

None of these kings is recognisable in any of the kings of the Maurya, Sunga, Kanva and Andra dynasties till 150 A.C. Moreover from 250 B.C. to 150 A.C., the whole of North India was under the actual or nominal suzerainty of the kings of Magadha, whose omission in the list would, therefore, be significant. Nor in all this period do we find any of these kings included in the list of Saka, Kalinga, Avanti, Souraseni, Kushan or Parthian kings known to us to have ruled in that period. But in 150 A.C. there was a Rudra, the Saka Rudradaman and in that period there might have been such numerous independent princes in North India, since the struggles for supremacy between the Andhras and the Sakas proved a favourable opportunity for the rise of many independent states. We may thus safely conclude that the close of the Sangam age was not earlier than 150 A.C., and that consequently the recent theory assigning the Sangam age to C. 282 Kali era apparently on astronomical grounds deserves no consideration.

We will now see what is the latest limit for the close of the Sangam age. Nambi Andar Nambi, in his *Tiru-Tonda-Tiru-Anthathi*, interprets the expression in Sundara's *Tiru-Tonda-Togai* 'பொய்யடிமை யின்னா தபுவார்' to refer to Kapilar, Paranar and other poets of the third Tamil Sangam. Moreover, some of their poems are included in his *Tirumurai*. The close of the

Sangam age must, therefore, be anterior to Nambi Andar Nambi. Nambi Andar Nambi, according to Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam*, composed in the reign of Anapaya (1070-1118 A.C.), was a contemporary of Raja Raja I. (985-1013. A.C.) But since a hymn by Karuvar Devar in the ninth *Tirumurai* refers to a temple built by Gangaikonda Chola in C. 1015 A.C., we may hold that Nambi Andar Nambi was a contemporary of both Raja Raja and his son, and lived from C. 980 A.C. to 1030 A.C. The close of the Sangam age must, therefore, be anterior to C. 950 A.C. Again Manickavasagar refers to the third Sangam in the past tense in his *Tirukkoraiyar*, indicating that it had ceased to exist in his days.

செநவான் புதறிக் கைத்தெய்வத்த மென் சிந்தையுஞ்ஞ
முதறவானாய் தீம் கடலினுப்த வொண்டத்தநிழின்
தெநவாய் துறழித்தனையோவன்றி யேழி சைஞ்ஞழல் புக்கோ
விசறவாதவரைத்தோட்கொல்லாம் புதுத்தெய்வியரே.

Since Pattinathar, whose poems also are included in the *Tirumurai*, refers to Manickavasagar, the latter cannot have lived later than 950 A.C. And in view of the facts that Manickavasagar, standing before the very shrine that Parantaka (Acc. 907 A.C.) had covered with gold, makes no reference to that king, while Nambi Andar Nambi and Sekkilar are enthusiastic in his praise and that Manickavasagar refers to Varaguna Pandya in the present tense indicating that they were contemporaries,

வாருணன்குதென்னவன் ஏத்தம் சிந்தப்பகம் (*Tirukkoraiyar*) we may conclude that Manickavasagar could not have lived later than the latter half of the ninth century A.C., since from 600 A.C. to 1000 A.C., we meet with only one Varaguna or at the most two, in the complete list of Pandya kings in that period, and both of these, if there were two, lived in the ninth century A.C. Thus the Sangam age could not have come to a close after 850 A.C., and this is confirmed by the fact that none of the Chola kings mentioned in Sangam literature are recognisable in the complete list of the later Cholas beginning with Vijayala (Acc. 846 A.C.) who bore highly Sanskritised names, while the Chola kings of the Sangam age bore purely Tamil names.

Whether we take the expression 'பொய்யமுமை யிலவதபுலவர்' in Sundara's *Tiru-Tonda-Togai* to refer, on the authority of Nambi Andar Nambi, to the Sangam poets, or to Manickavasagar, it is clear that the close of the Sangam age could not have been later than 800 A.C., since we have shown that Manickavasagar himself refers to the third Sangam in the past tense, and since Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has for sound reasons assigned Sundara to the middle of the ninth century A.C., Sambandha (C. 650 A.C.) refers, in his second *Tirumurai*, to the story of Sengannan having been a சிலந்தி in his previous birth, and it is well known that Sengannan is the hero of one

of the Sangam works களவழிகாற்புறம் of Poygaiyar. Even Appar, the earliest of the Tevaram poets, and the contemporary of Mahendravarman I. (C. 600-625 A.C.) refers to that story (திருப்பாருள்புத்தூர், விண்ணாடி, 6) and also to the 'தருமிக்கு பொற்கிழியளித்த வரலாறு' connected with Nakkirar's life (திருப்புகழ், ப்புறம், புரிந்தமார், 3). The free use of the விருத்தம் metre in the Tevaram, as contrasted with its entire absence in Sangam works, fully bears out the inference that the close of the Sangam age must have been anterior to the composition of the Tevaram, i.e., C. 600 A.C.

The Pandya genealogy, as found in the bigger and smaller Sinnamanur plates, and the Velvikudi grant, takes the close of the Sangam age much earlier. In the accompanying table we have given the list of Pandyas up to Varaguna, as found in these grants, with our own constructive genealogy. In the first place, it is clear that the Ajnapti of the Velvikudi grant is identical with the donor of the Anamalai inscription, for they are both referred to as natives of Karavandapuram, Marankari, Muvenda-Mangala-Peraraiyan and Madhurakavi, and as servants of Sadaiyan Parantakan who was, according to the Anamalai inscription, ruling in 770 A.C. The Jatila of the bigger Sinnamanur grant is obviously identical with the only other Jatila of the Velvikudi grant. So we may identify the fathers of Jatila mentioned in the various grants. He was called Arikesari, Parankusa, and Termaran or Maravarman, and he defeated Pallavamalla at Sankaramangai. The Udayendiram grant connects Nandivarman Pallavamalla with the battle of Sankaramangai, and hence the mention of Sankaramangai in the bigger Sinnamanur plate and of Pallavamalla in the Velvikudi grant shows that our identification is correct. The Velvikudi grant mentions the names of the predecessor of the victor of Sankaramangai as Ranadhiran and Sadaiyan. The Velvikudi grant says Ranadhiran's predecessor was Arikesari Aramasaman Maravarman, victor of Nelveli, who must be identical with the king of the same names in the smaller Sinnamanur plates, and since he came three generations before Jatila (770 A.C.), he must be identical also with the செங்கோலி வென்ற சிவந்த சீர் கெடுமாற நாயனார் of Sundara's *Tiru-Tonda-Togai* and Sekkilar's *Periya-Purana*, who is said to have been converted by Sambandha to Saivism. Since Sambandha was the contemporary of Siruttondar who destroyed Vatapi in 642 A.C., his date and, consequently, the date of his convert must be C. 650 A.C. Since the Udayendiram grant and the *Kalaviyalurai* refer to the hero of Sankaramangai also as having fought at Nelveli, there were two heroes of Nelveli usually confused with each other. We may next identify Jayantavarman with Seliyan Sendan; as they were both fathers of the victor of Nelveli, and as Sendan is only a Tamil form of Jayantan. Then going up we have Maravarman Avani Sulamani and Kadungon after

Bigger Sinnamanur plates, Sanskrit.	Bigger Sinnamanur plates, Tamil.	Smaller Sinnamanur plate.	Velvikudi grant, Sanskrit.	Velvikudi grant, Tamil.	Anamalai Inscription.	Constructive Pandya Genealogy.
		Jayantavarman ...	.....	Palyaga Mudukudumi Pemvaludi ... (Kalabhra occupation) Kadungan ... Maravarman Avani Sulamani ... Seliyan Sendan ...	..... ..... ..... ..... .....	1) Palyaga Mudukudumi Pemvaludi, Kalabhra occupation. Kadungan. Maravarman Avani Sulamani. Seliyan Jayantavarman. Arikesari Maravarman, victor of Nelveli. Sadaiyan Ranadhiran Arikesari Parankusan, victor of Sankaramangal.
Arikesari	Parankusan who conquered the Pallavas at Sankaramangal.	Arikesari Asamasaman Alanghya Vikraman Akalakalan Maravarman	Maravarman Ranadhiran Maravarman Rajasimha who defeated Pallavamalla	Arikesari Asamasaman Maravarman, victor of Nelveli Ko-Sadaiyan Termaran	..... ..... ...
Jatila	.....	.....	Jatila Parantaka Ajnapti as Madhuratara, Sastriavid. Kavi	Nedunjadaiyan Sirvira Parantaka, Donor of Muvendaman-gala Peraraiyan, native of Karavandapuram	Skt. Temple builder, a resident of Karavandapura. Maras-son, a Vaidya, Madhura Kavi. (Kali 3571-770 A.C.) Minister of Pandya Parantaka Tam. Marankari, Vaidya Muvendaman-gala Peraraiyan. The Uttaramantri of Narasadaiyan.	Jatila Sirvara Parantakan. Rajasimha Varaguna.
Rajasimha Varaguna	Rajasimha Varaguna Maharaja (Acc. 862 A.C.)	.....	.....	.....	.....

the Kalabhra occupation. Assigning the usual average of twenty-five years to each of the three generations before the victor of Nelveli, we have for the accession of Kadungon; the date $650 - 3 \times 25 = 575$ A.C. That this average is not too large is seen from the fact that for the three generations from the victor of Nelveli to Jatila we have the average of $770 - 650 = 120$ years, and for the two generations from Jatila to Varaguna (Ace. 862 A.C.), we have the average $862 - 770 = 92$ years. Since the five generations of Pandya kings mentioned in Sangam works (1) ஆரியப்படை தந்த கெடுஞ்செழியன், (2) வெற்றிவெற்செழியன் என்ற கன்மாறன், (3) தலைபாலங் காணத் துச்செடுவென்ற கெடுஞ்செழியன், (4) உக்கிரப்பெருவழிதி (5) கன்மாறன், are not recognisable in the list of Pandya kings from 575 to 887 A.C., we must infer that the close of the Sangam age was at any rate prior to 550 A.C. even allowing only the period of a single generation for the Kalabhra occupation. In support of this it may be noted that there is no reference whatever to the Kalabhra occupation in Sangam works, though we have references in the *Patirru Pattu* to their defeat by Chera kings; and that the larger Sinna-manur plates ascribes the victory at Talaiyalanganam to one of the ancient unnamed Pandya kings instead of to any of the kings mentioned therein by name. It may be noted also that the same plate ascribes the translation of the Mahabharata into Tamil and the founding of an academy at Madura connected with the third Tamil Sangam to the same unnamed ancient Pandyas instead of to their named successors. The Cholas of the Sangam age were powerful rulers, while in 640 A.C. Hiuen Tshang found them a petty race at Cuddapah, and allowing for their decline and migration from their own home to Cuddapah, we arrive at the same 550 A.C. as the latest limit for the close of the Sangam age.

Again in *Manimekalai* we have two distinct references to the star of Buddha's anniversary day, i.e., Visakha as the middle or the 14th Nakshatra.

மீனத்திடைநிலை மீனத்தகைவயிற்

கோதித்தலைவனொடு பொருந்தித்தேன் றும்.

(Man. XI. 42-3 & XV. 25-6.)

This would be possible only if Krittika was the first Nakshatra, and it is well known that originally the Nakshatras began with Krittika, but that about 500 A.C., the vernal equinox having receded to the first point of Asvini owing to the precession of the equinoxes, the Nakshatras were made to begin with Asvini instead of Krittika. Since evidently at the time of the composition of *Manimekalai*, the Nakshatras began with Krittika—and Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has adduced no evidence whatever for his assumption that the poet wished to refer to Krittika and Visakha in the order in which they were reckoned in Buddha's time—the close of the Sangam age could in no case be later than 500 A.C.

The *Kalaviyalurai* professes to have been composed by Nakkirar and to have been handed down through at least ten generations whose names it gives. But since it adds 'தேவனம் வதிஞ் சிறகு உரை,' we are perhaps to infer that the list is only incomplete and not exhaustive, since subsequently the practice of adding the names of successive generations of disciples may have been neglected as in the case of the dotted record known to us in connection with the date of Buddha. The *Urai* in its examples mentions the victor of Sankaramangai and all his names, titles and battles. The lavish adulation and the terms of reference almost exclusively to that king in a literary work indicate that he was a contemporary of the last compiler who probably wished to earn his favour. Since the victor of Sankaramangai died before 770 A.C. when his son Jatila was ruling, the latest date for the close of the Sangam age is 770—10 x 30 = 470 A.C., allowing the not unreasonable average of thirty years for each generation of master and disciple.

The Jaina *Digambara Darsanam* tells us that Vajranandin established a Jaina Dravida Sangam in 470 A.C. Since the work does not identify this Sangam with the third Tamil Sangam or claim the credit of founding the latter for the Jains, it must have been founded either in imitation of the third Sangam for developing the Jaina religious literature or to revive the extinct third Sangam. In either case the third Sangam must be considerably earlier and must have come to a close not later than 400 A.C., and in the latter alternative some centuries before that date having regard to the universal laws of decay and revival, for the causes which operate towards the extinction of an academy would continue to operate for some centuries. So if from the evidence of the *Kalaviyalurai* we were to assign Nakkirar to 470 A.C., we would be unconsciously making him a member not of the third but of Vajranandin's Sangam.

It is also significant that none of the Gupta kings are mentioned as having been conquered by Senguttuvar in his northern expedition. From this fact and also from the fact that North India is said in the *Silappadigaram* to have been ruled by many independent kings, we may infer that the close of the Sangam age must have been earlier than 320 A.C. For from 320 to 550 A.C., the Guptas were ruling over Magadha and were at first the actual and later on the nominal sovereigns of North India. In all this period there was no room for many independent kings. From 320 to 390 A.C., the Guptas and the Sakas were ruling side by side in North India; from 390 to 480 A.C., the Guptas were the sole rulers of North India; from 480 to 528 A.C., the Guptas, the Huns and Yasodharman shared the sovereignty of North India; and from 528 to 550 A.C., the Guptas and Yasodharman's successors and dependents of the Valabhi kings alone ruled over North India.

A date later than 400 A.C. is also precluded by the fact that at the close of the Sangam age, Malva was said to have been ruled by many independent princes and not by one king. That 'தூற்றுவர்கன்னர்' refers to these and not to Yajnasri Satakarin is obvious. For கன்னர் is always used in the plural (not honorific) e.g., தூற்றுவர் கன்னர் (Silap. XXVI. 163), ஐரிகுபதினமர் (XXVII. 177), ஐம்பத்திருவர் (XXVI. 223), மாளுவ வேந்தர் (XXX. 159), and சுருஞ்ஞாற்றுவர் (XXVII. 188). After about 150 A.C. when the Saka Rudradaman dispossessed the Andhras of Malva, the latter had nothing to do at all with Malva and, therefore, could not be called மாளுவவேந்தர். Invariably the pronunciation of Satakarni is Satakarni—'pot-eared' and not 'Satakarin'—the 100 Kannar. (See the Puranas, Vatsyayana's Kamasutras II. 7, and Raghuvamsa XIII. 38.) Besides we will show that Senkuttuvan's northern expedition took place in the years 157-160 A.C., while Yajnasri began to rule only in 175 A.C. Nahapana and his successors ruled down to Saka 46, as we know from their inscriptions and they were destroyed in Saka 47—125 A.C. by Gautamiputra, according to his inscription, in his eighteenth year. And from his coins and inscriptions he is known to have ruled at least for twenty-four years, while the Puranas assign him a period of twenty-five years. Thus his date is 108-133 A.C. From the evidence of the Puranas, coins and inscriptions, Puloman II. then ruled from 133 to 161 A.C., Sivasri from 161 to 168 A.C., Sivaskandha from 168 to 175 A.C., and Yajnasri from 175 to 204 A.C., the dynasty itself becoming extinct in 227 A.C. These independent princes of Malva were found by Samudragupta (C. 350 A.C.) to be ruling over their small states under the Sakas. Perhaps they were the predecessors of the Sakas as rulers of Malva, and they might have been ruling there as well in the second as in the fourth century A.C. But the ambitious Chandragupta II. destroyed the Sakas and annexed Malva some time between 310 Saka—388 A.C. (the date of the last Saka inscription) and 42 Gupta era—401 A.C. (the date of the Udayagiri inscription which mentions the event.) After that event Malva was under the sole sovereignty of the Guptas, and thus there could be no Kannar to help Senguttuvan in the fifth century A.C.

But Mr. Raghava Aiyangar urges that in the passages relating to the வம்பமோரியர் in *Aganannuru*, we have a reference to Samudragupta's southern expedition. Mr. Srinivasa Pillai has shown that the reference is perhaps to a southern expedition of the Mauryas but certainly not to any Gupta invasion. Even granting that வம்பமோரியர் means the new Mauryas, the term cannot apply to the Guptas who were neither related to the old Mauryas nor dispossessed the Andhras who became extinct in 227 A.C. When about 150 A.C. Rudradaman broke down the power of the Andhras, the descendants of the old Mauryas might have taken advantage of the opportunity to recover the outly-

ing province of Magadha and might have then turned their successful arms to the south in pursuit of universal dominion. These would properly be called the new Mauryas, who lived on even after the Gupta ascendancy, since in 640 A.C. Hiuen Tshang mentions Purnavarma 'the last of the race of Asoka' as having ruled over Magadha shortly before his time, and these new Mauryas might have taken the dispossessed Andhras into their service. (Watters' Yuan Chwang II. 115.). Samudragupta's omission to conquer the Pandyas and Cholas might have been due to their having become in 350 A.C. petty chiefs under the Pallavas. If his omission to mention them was due to his having been defeated by them, why should they and their poets be so modest as to refrain from claiming victory over the great conqueror Samudragupta, when they with painful care mention by name even petty chiefs whom they happened to defeat? We can thus conclude that the close of the Sangam age could not be later than 320 A.C., or at the latest than 350 A.C.

From *Manimekalai* it is clear that Buddhism was flourishing in South India in the Sangam age. From *Hien Tshang's travels* and from Mahendra Vikrama Varma's *Mattavilasaprahasanam* it is certain that in 600 A.C., Buddhism had become degenerate and an object of popular ridicule, and already in the time of Fahian (C. 400 A.C.), it had begun to decay. This circumstance also leads to the inference that the close of the Sangam age was not later than 350 A.C.

The Pallavas who are frequently referred to in the *Tevaram* are not mentioned at all in Sangam works. We learn from *Manimekalai* and *Perum-Panarru-Padai* that Karikala Chola was succeeded at Pugar by Nedumudikkilli or Killivalavan and his brother Nalamkilli, and that thereafter Pugar being flooded, Tondaiman Ilandiraiyan, the illegitimate son of Killivalavan, ruled at Kanchi. Karikala Chola is also said to have ruled over Kanchi. Thus for at least three generations the Cholas ruled over Kanchi. This would be impossible after the third century A.C. ; for about the end of that century, we find the Pallava Sivaskandhavarman established at Kanchi. (V. Venkayyah's "Pallavas" and Smith's "Early History," p. 471.). Three Prakrit copperplate grants, the earliest of them issued from Kanchi when Sivaskandhavarman was Yuvaraja, not only mention Sivaskandhavarman's predecessor as king Bappa, but with the later Sanskrit charters give us a continuous list of Pallava kings at Kanchi down to Simhavarman II, who ruled from 436-458 A.C. in the very period that Mr. Raghava Aiyangar assigns to the Sangam age (I.R.A.S. 1915, pp. 470-485) and including Vishnugopa who was defeated by Samudragupta in C. 350 A.C. Then again we have a continuous list of Pallava kings at Kanchi from Simhavishnu

(C. 575-600 A.C.) down to C. 900 A.C. There is thus no room for the Cholas at Kanehi in the period C. 250 to 900 A.C., except between 460 and 575 A.C. when the Cholas, from Hiuen Tshang's statement, were too weak to dispossess the Pallavas of Kanehi. Thus the close of the Sangam age must have been earlier than 250 A.C. Otherwise we will be at a loss to know why the Sangam works should have deemed the Pallavas, when compared to the petty chiefs of South India, too unimportant to deserve mention in connection with gifts or battles, when the Pallavas could not have established themselves at Kanehi or extended their sway over large territories without fighting many battles with the kings and chiefs of South India. Ptolemy's (C. 130 A.C.) mention of the land of சூழ் and five of its seaports also leads to the inference that the close of the Sangam age was about C. 150 A.C., since both சூழ் அண்டிரன் and சூழ் எமினன் were kings of the Sangam age. (For a complete refutation of Mr. Raghava Aiyangar's theory as to the Sangam age, see Mr. K. S. Srinivasa Pillai's article in *Sen Tamil* XV., pp. 3-24.)

Ilanko-Adigal, who was himself present on the occasion, யாழ்ப்பாணத்தேரன் (Silap. XXX. 171), says that Gajabahu of Ceylon attended the ceremony of inauguration of Kannagi worship by Senkuttuvan and instituted her worship in Ceylon also. கடன் குழிவங்ககக்கயவாகுதிவந்தனும. (Silap. XXX. 160.) The Ceylon chronicles mention only two Gajabahus in their continuous list of the kings of Ceylon. Of these the second lived in the twelfth century A.C., and cannot, therefore, be seriously identified with the Gajabahu of *Silappadigaram*. The first Gajabahu lived in the second century A.C. None of the chronicles indicate that Gajabahu might have been a title of the kings of Ceylon. On the contrary they use it only as the name of an individual. The *Pujavaliya*, the *Raja Ratnacari* and the *Rajavali* say about Gajabahu I. that he recovered the inhabitants of Ceylon who had been carried away in a previous Chola invasion to work at Kaveri. The latter adds that he brought back with him Tamil settlers, Buddha's begging bowl and *Pattini Devi's foot-ornaments*. The last item completely identifies Gajabahu I. with the Gajabahu of *Silappadigaram*. And the reference to a previous Chola invasion perhaps points to Karikala who, we learn from the *Pattinappalai*, built and fortified Kaveripatnam and probably obtained labourers and artisans from Ceylon to help in the construction of the new capital. Some may attempt to minimise the importance of this fact by saying that there might have been other Gajabahus who were omitted, since the list of later kings was compiled only in the thirteenth century A.C. But the list is continuous, complete, based on correct older chronicles which the Ceylon Buddhists were in the habit of keeping, completely harmonising with all ascertained epigraphic and literary evidence, and satisfactory wherever tested by such evidence. The list, moreover, professes to

give the exact dates of each king from C. 500 B.C. to the thirteenth century A.C. There existed in Ceylon in the monasteries an ancient *Attakatha Mahavamsa* in various recensions as early as about 400 A.C. Geiger, the editor of the *Mahavamsa*, has no doubt that this work was before the commentator of the *Mahavamsa* and was equally accessible to his contemporaries, and that for this reason the commentator's statements acquire particular importance. (Geiger's *Mahavamsa* Introd. p. xi.) Moreover, this circumstance does not affect our position at all, since admittedly the list of kings in the *Mahavamsa* down to C. 500 A.C. was compiled in the sixth century A.C. According to the *Dipavamsa*, the earlier of the two chronicles, Gajabahu reigned from 642 to 664 after Buddha, and according to the *Mahavamsa* from 653 to 675 A.B. According to Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, he ruled for only twelve years, i.e., till 663 A.B. So probably the *Dipavamsa* account is the correct one. What is the date of the death of Buddha, at least for the purposes of Ceylon chronology? In his rock-edict 13, Asoka mentions the Greek king Magas of Cyrene who died in 258 B.C. (Rapson's "Ancient India," p. 21, and Smith's "Early History," p. 196) as his contemporary. It was only twelve years after his anointing that Asoka commenced publishing his 'rescripts on morality.' (Rock edict 4, and Pillar edict 6.) If the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, rock edict 13 cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the anointing when Asoka appointed 'superintendents of morality.' (Edict 5.) Thus Asoka's anointing cannot be dated later than $258 + 13 = 271$ B.C. It was only after Alexander left India (October 325 B.C. Smith's "Early History," p. 114) that Chandragupta became the king of Magadha. Alexander when in Karmenia (February 324 B.C., Smith, p. 114) heard of the murder of his Indian satrap. (Smith, pp. 109, 110.) In 321 B.C. Antipater recognised the practical independence of the Indian satrapy. (Smith, p. 110.) Justin says (XV. 4) that Chandragupta was its liberator shortly after Alexander's death (June 323 B.C., Smith, pp. 44, 114.) The accession of Chandragupta was prior to his helping the Indian satrapy to its freedom (Smith, pp. 43-4, 117-8). It is thus clear that Chandragupta's accession must be dated in 324 B.C. The Puranas and the Buddhist chronicles all agree in assigning Chandragupta a period of twenty-four years. But while the Puranas give Bindusara twenty-five years, the Buddhist chronicles give him twenty-eight years. The latter place Asoka's accession four years before his coronation: This is confirmed by the *Vayu Purana* giving a total of 137 years for the Mauryas, while the total of the lengths of individual reigns is only 133 years. The difference of four years must be due to its omission to count the interval between Asoka's accession and coronation. Thus the interval from Chandragupta's accession to Asoka's coronation is $24 + (25 \text{ or } 28) + 4 = 53 \text{ or } 56$ years.

Since Chandragupta's accession is to be dated in 324 B.C., and Asoka's coronation cannot be dated later than 271 B.C., it is seen that the true interval cannot be 56 but only 53 years, and that consequently the exact date of Asoka's accession is 271 B.C. Since the Ceylon chronicles unanimously place Asoka's coronation 218 years after the death of Buddha, we must hold, at least for purposes of Ceylon chronology, that Buddha died in $271 + 218 = 489$ B.C. In that case, Gajabahu ruled from 154 (642-488) to 176 A.C. (664-488) (D.V.), or from 165 (653-488) to 187 A.C. (675-488) (M.V.), more probably in the period 154-176 A.C. Therefore the age of Senkuttuvan, his contemporary, and of the close of the third Sangam must be found in the latter half of the second century A.C.

We may now determine the exact dates in which the events mentioned in the *Silappadigaram* and *Manimekalai* took place. We learn from the former that Madura was destroyed by fire on a day of Bharani-Krittika and Krishna Ashtami, a Friday in the month of Adi, at about midnight.

சூடித்திங்கட்பேரிடுப்பக்கத்
தழல்சேர் சூட்டத்தட்டமிஞ்ஞான்று
வெள்ளிவாரத்தே ஸ்னேரியுண்ண
வுண்காண்மதரை யோடாசு தேற்றமெனு
முனையுமுண்டே. (Silap. XXIII. 133-7 and the கதிம்பதவை
thereon).

வெள்ளியம்பலத்து நள்ளிஇட்டிடத்தே
ஞாளுகிற்ற வீரபத்தினிமுன்
மதரை மாறெய்தம் வந்து தோன்றி, etc. (Silap. பதிசு. 41-3.)

From 100 to 200 A.C. these astronomical conditions are satisfied only by the years 100, 103, 107, 117, 130, 134, 144, 157, 171, 188 and 198 A.C. From among these we must choose a date which fits in with the interval between the destruction of Madura and the inauguration of Kannagi worship, the interval between the latter event and Manimekalai's visit to Manipallayam, the astronomical data of the third event, and the limits of Gajabahu's reign. The death of Kannagi took place shortly after the destruction of Madura—the text gives 14 days. (Silap. பதிசு. 50-3.) The hill tribes who saw her ascent to heaven report it at once to Senkuttuvan who had come there to see the beauties of the mountain. (Silap. XXV. 57-61.) On hearing their report and that of Sattanar who was eye-witness of the burning of Madura and who had followed Kannagi to that place, (Silap. பதிசு. 41-3), and at the request of his own wife, Senkuttuvan starts at once on his northern expedition to bring stone from the Himalayas for the image of Kannagi. He returned to Vanchi in 32 months (Silap. XXVII. 149). On his way back, he had sent his general to the Chola and Pandya kings to show them his

captives. But these kings met the general with ridicule, who, therefore, would not have let the grass grow under his feet before he returned to his master to report the incident. The interval would, therefore, be only three or four months. On hearing the incident, Senkuttuvan got angry but was pacified by Māḍalan at whose request he at once released the captives and ordered the establishment of Kannagi worship in the temple "already built" with the image made out of the Himalayan stone. (Silap. XXVIII. 224-234.) Thus the interval between the burning of Madura and the inauguration of Kannagi worship (which Gajabahu attended) was only three years. This is confirmed by the course of events mentioned in the passage காவற் பெண்டும் திறமுறைப்பார் மன்' in Silap. XXIX. In fact, had it not been for the explicit mention of the thirty-two months, we would have assigned a shorter period for those events. Since the limits of Gajabahu's reign are 154 to 187 A.C., the burning of Madura could not have taken place either before 154—3 151 A.C., or after 187—3 184 A.C., we have thus only two alternative dates left for the events mentioned in "Silappadigaram," i.e., 157 and 171 A.C.

We will now determine the interval between the inauguration of Kannagi worship and Manimekalai's visit to Manipallavam. On the occasion of the inauguration of Kannagi worship, Senkuttuvan asks Devantikai, why Manimekalai had taken vows though young. (Silap. XXX. 1-5.) Devantikai explains that when Manimekalai showed signs of maturity (Silap. XXX. 10-21), Madhavi, in response to her mother's question as to what she was going to do with Manimekalai, makes the latter an ascetic. (Silap. XXX. 22-9.) It is thus clear that at the time of the inauguration of Kannagi worship, Manimekalai was not less than fourteen years old. On the other hand we learn from *Manimekalai* that Manimekalai, at the time of her first visit to Manipallavam, was in the bloom of her youth and could not be safely allowed to go alone (Man. III), and that she was young enough to be loved passionately by the young Chola prince, (IV) and this inference is confirmed by the following:—

இளையர் வளையோள் என்ற உணக்கியாவரும்

விளபொருளுடையார். (Man. X. 79-80.)

Thus she could not then have been more than eighteen years old. This gives us 18—14—4 years as the maximum interval between the inauguration of Kannagi worship and Manimekalai's visit to Manipallavam. Again, at the time of the inauguration of Kannagi worship Senkuttuvan was fifty years old, for when he got angry at the insulting words of the Chola and Pandya kings, Māḍalan reminds him :

நின்னல் யாண்டையந்திராட்சென்ற

தற்பின்னம். (Silap. XXVIII. 129-130.)

And according to the பதிற்றுப்பத்து 5ம் பத்து, he lived only for fifty-five years. So he lived for only five years after the ceremony. But he was living when, after the flooding of Pugar, Manimekalai entered Vanchi (Man. XXVI. 77-94). At least one year had elapsed from the opening incidents, i.e., preparations for the Indra festival which was duly celebrated to the flooding of Pugar, which was due to the neglect to celebrate the same festival in a succeeding year. (Man. I., II, XXV. especially 176-7 and 197-9.) Thus the opening incidents of *Manimekalai* could not have taken place more than 5—1-4 years after the inauguration of Kannagi worship, confirming the results we have already arrived at. So the maximum interval between the burning of Madura and Manimekalai's visit to Manipallavam is only seven years. This fact is in itself, taken with the historical conditions in the eighth century A.C., sufficient to show that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's dates for the two events 756 and 771 A.C. must be wrong, the interval between them being fifteen years and not less than seven years.

From Silap. VI. 5-6 and Adiyarkunallar's comments thereon, we learn that the Indra festival began every year on the day of Chitra in the month of Chittirai. The first canto of *Manimekalai* shows us the citizens of Pugar preparing to celebrate the Indra festival. Madhavi's mother grieved to find that Madhavi and her daughter were not present on the opening day of the festival to dance (which would be usually at night), sends Vasantamalai at once to Madhavi with a message (Man. II. 1 et segg.). So the message must have been sent on the 2nd day of the festival. The events mentioned in canto II—VII happen on the same day. In the same night the deity Manimekalai takes the heroine to Manipallavam. In canto VIII, we are told of sunrise on the next day, i.e., the third day of the festival. காலஞாழியு கழிர் விரித்து முனாப்ப (VIII. 18). On the same day the heroine tours round the island and visits the sacred pool Gomukhi, where she on the same day receives Aputtiran's begging bowl (IX, X & XI), and she returns to her mother the same night. That day was a day of Visakha in Vaikasi, and Buddha's anniversary day. (XI. 40-6.) It was also a full-moon day. (X. 83.) Thus from the course of events mentioned in cantoes II. to XI, we must infer that Manimekalai was absent from her mother for only one day. So we must interpret the following இன்றேழ் காளிலிங்கை மருங்கே (VII. 23-5) and இன்றேழ் காளிலிடையிடுள் யாமத்து (VII. 106-8) as meaning that Manimekalai would return at the most, *within* seven days, or as a more common way of saying 'in a short time'. The use in the latter sense is confirmed by a number of other passages in the same and other poems (Kural 1278. Man. VII. 23-5, 106-8, XIII. 14, XXII. 72-4; Silap. பதிகம் 50-3.) Our interpretation is also supported by the fact that from the day of

- Chitra, the opening day of the Indra festival to the day of Visakha, the day when Manimekalai receives the begging bowl, there could be an interval of only about two or twenty-nine days but never of seven days, since Visakha is only two stars removed from Chitra. Therefore, even supposing that the Indra festival began on the last day of Chittirai, Buddha's anniversary day could not have fallen later than the third Vaikasi. From 150 to 200 A.C., only in 162, 170, 181, 189 and 200 A.C., did Buddha's anniversary day fall within the first three days of Vaikasi. The nearest date among these after 171 A.C. is 181 A.C., which is more than seven years removed from 171 A.C., while 162 A.C. is only five years removed from 157 A.C. So of the two years 157 and 171 A.C., we will have to choose 157 A.C. as the true date of the burning of Madura, and the corresponding date for Manimekalai's visit to Manipallavam is 162 A.C. These two dates satisfy all the conditions of the text of the two poems perfectly. On the last day of Panguni in 157 A.C., the star at sunrise was Chitra. So on that day, a day of Chitra, the Kama festival ended as mentioned in Silap. VI. 5-6. On the 27th Chittirai in the same year, Chitra lasted for 27 gh. 49 pa. after sunrise, so that was the opening day of the Indra festival which lasted for twenty-eight days as required by Man. (I. 8.) It came to a close on the twenty-fourth Vaikasi. The flag was then taken down and the following day, the twenty-fifth Vaikasi, was the day of the general bath in the sea and the journey. On that day, a Monday, visakha lasted for 42 gh. 21 pa. after sunrise and the 014 began at 34 gh. 8 pa. after sunrise and so was the tithi at the time of the journey, and there could be a brief interval of darkness between moonset and sunrise on that day as required by Silap. X. 1-3. On the twenty-ninth Adi in that year, a Friday, Bharani lasted for 58 gh. 17 pa. after sunrise and 08 began 47 gh. 38 pa. after sunrise. Since Sattanar heard the dialogue between the goddess of Madura and Kannagi at about midnight while it was dark, we may suppose the burning of Madura took place about an hour later when both Bharani and 08 were in combination, i.e., between 47 gh. 38 pa. and 58 gh. 17 pa. after sunrise. Now coming to the day of Manimekalai's visit to Manipallavam, it may have been on the first or second Vaikasi in 162 A.C., for on the first Vaikasi, Visakha began 22 gh. 22 pa. and 015 began 21 gh. 5 pa. after sunrise and lasted till about sunset next day. Thus there was a combination of Visakha and 015 on both days. The Indra festival in that year consequently began on the penultimate or last day of Chittirai. We may here note that on the eighth Vaikasi 771 A.C., the day on which, according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, the Indra festival began in the year of Manimekalai's first visit to Manipallavam, there was neither Chitra nor 015, nor was it in the month of Chittirai. This is the strange result to

which his theory of 'Saturday nearest to the full-moon at the end of Chittirai' as the opening day of the Indra festival leads. We will consider this more fully presently.

We will here state further objections to 171 A.C. In that year the Chitra day in Chittirai fell on the twenty-second on which day Chitra lasted for 56 gh. 16 pa. after sunrise. Since the festival lasted for only twenty-eight days, it came to a close on the nineteenth Vaikasi. So the twentieth Vaikasi ought to have been the day of the sea-bath and journey. But that was not a day of 014 which fell on the twenty-first. Even on the twenty-first, Chitra lasted only for 53 gh. 51 pa. after sunrise, *i.e.*, it would not be present when the hero and heroine started for Madura in the early hours of the morning between moonset and sunrise which would be between 58 and 60 gh after sunrise that day. The *tithi* at starting would, therefore, be 015 and not 014. But if they started on the previous day, the *tithi* would be 014 at time of starting, but that day would be a Saturday on which a sea-bath is prohibited.

We have thus proved that Madura was burnt in 157 A.C., that the Kannagi worship was inaugurated in 160 A.C., that Manimekalai visited Manipallavam in 162 A.C., and that she visited Vanchi between 163 and 165 A.C., in which latter year Senkuttuvan must have died. This shows incidentally that as regards the date of Gajabahu I, the earlier *Dipavamsa* and not the *Mahavamsa* is correct, his date being 154 to 176 A.C. If Senguttuvan ascended the throne when twenty years old, he ruled from C. 130 to 165 A.C. The Pandya who ordered Kovalan's death and himself died in 157 A.C. was Nedunjezhiyan. (Silap. மதுரைக்காண்டம் இறுதிக்கட்டுரை. 14-20.) His son Verri-ver-Sezhiyan, is said to have instituted Kannagi worship in his own land. Perumkilli was the contemporary Chola. (Silap. உரைகருக்கட்டுரை. 4.) Ilanko-Adigal, the author of *Silappadigaram* was, from his own statement, Senkuttuvan's brother, and he heard the events narrated in that poem from the eye-witness Sattanar, author of *Manimekalai*. The two works were published in each other's presence. (Silap. பதிகம் 87-9, and Man. பதிகம் 95-8.) Since Sattanar was an eye-witness of the burning of Madura in 157 A.C., it is probable that he and his friend both wrote and died before 200 A.C.

Tiruvalluvar must have lived not later than 150 A.C., since in Silap. XXI. 3-4, we have evidently a quotation with slight changes from Kural இன்னுசெய்யாமை. 9, and in Man. XXII. 59-61, we have a quotation from Kural 55 with a reference to the author:

தெய்வந்தொழாஅன்கொழுந்தொழுதெழுநாள்
பெய்யெனப்பெய்யும் பெருமையு யென்றவ்
பொய்யில் புலவன் பொருளுரைதேறும்

We may next consider Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's theories as to the Sangam age based on what he calls astronomical evidence, though for historical reasons they are absolutely unsound.

He bases his date for the *Silappadigaram* on Silap. X, 1-3 with Adiyar-kunallar's commentaries thereon and Silap. XXIII, 133-7. Analysed, the commentaries yield the following data for the year of the burning of Madura:

- (1) Chittirai 1. Sunday. Svati. 03.
The opening day of the year.
- (2) Chittirai 28. Saturday. Chitra. 015.
The flag was hoisted for the Indra festival.
- (3) Vaikasi 28. Monday. Anusha. 013.
The general bath in the sea.
- (4) Vaikasi 29. Tuesday. Jyeshtha. Nasa Yoga. 014.
Between moonset and sunrise, in darkness the hero and heroine start for Madura.

The text gives for the burning of Madura :

- (5) Adi. Friday. Bharani-Krittika. 08. at about midnight
(Silap. XXIII. 133-7. The அரும் பதவுரை there-
on and Silap. பதிகம். 41-3.)

Working out the problem myself, I could find no date to suit the commentator's combinations between one and 1300 A.C. Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminatha Aiyar, the learned editor of *Silappadigaram*, likewise notes 'இவ்விசேடவுரையிலுள்ள காலகண யறை பொருத்தாதபோல் தோற்றுகிறது'. But Mr. Swamikannu Pillai claims for 756 A.C., that it is the only date that satisfies all these combinations completely. It, therefore, deserves consideration.

In the first place, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself says, "In that year, Chittirai began on Sunday, on a day of Svati in the sense that on that day Svati began at 38 gh. after sunrise, ending at 35½ gh. after sunrise the next day. Ordinarily such a day would be called a day of Chitra, but the Nakshatra noted by the commentator appears to have been obtained by backward calculation from Jyeshtha, the Nakshatra, under whose influence combining with that of Tuesday, Kovalan and Kannagi left their home in Kaveripattinam." The usual Indian practice is to give the *tithi* and the Nakshatra at sunrise as the *tithi* and the Nakshatra of the day. But if a particular *lagna* in the day is chosen as auspicious, then the *tithi* and Nakshatra in that *lagna* is given as the *tithi* and Nakshatra of that occasion. Here, in giving the *tithi* and Nakshatra of the first Chittirai, there is no such justification for departure from the usual practice, and we must, therefore, take the commentator to mean that Svati was the Nakshatra at sunrise on the first Chittirai. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has adduced no evidence to show that the commentator

arrived at Svati by backward calculation from Jyeshtha on twenty-ninth Vaikasi; and he seems to have forgotten this explanation when, on another page, he seeks to account for the fact that Adiyarkunallar (twelfth century A.C.), who came long after the composition of the *Silappadigaram*, is able to give all these details by saying they were passed on faithfully from commentator to commentator starting from the one contemporary with the author. The two explanations conflict with each other and are both necessary to support his date. This fact raises in our minds a doubt as to the correctness of the date, and other facts, as we will show presently, only confirm the doubt. He corrects the *tithi* on that day to 01 for the reason that 57 days later, on the twenty-eighth Vaikasi, the *tithi* was 013 and from 03 to 013 cannot take more than 55 days. But since the commentator makes many other similar mistakes, we are not justified in taking this alone to be a mistake in copying and not due to his astronomical ignorance. Even correcting the *tithi* to 01, the *tithi* of the day is not 01 for the reason it commences only about 11 a.m. on that day. Thus the date fails to satisfy as to the first Chittirai.

Now coming to the twenty-eighth Chittirai, he himself admits that on that day the *tithi* was properly speaking only 013 and even the fourteenth *tithi* commenced only late on that day, so that there was no full-moon at all on that day. In explanation of this, he argues that a festival tied to a day of the month, a week-day, a *tithi* and a Nakshatra must be moveable to a certain extent. There is no evidence for the statement that the Indra festival was tied to a day of the month. It is against the usual practice in relation to festivals. Adiyarkunallar is not giving us here details in regard to that festival in general but only with reference to the events which occurred in that particular year. This is indicated by his opening words 'அந்தந்தத்தினைத் திங்களபுதுதிகைள்.' If the festival tied to a particular *tithi* happened in that year to fall on a different *tithi*, the commentator would have given us the actual and not the conventional *tithi*, his purpose being to elucidate the course of events in that particular year. His references to the Indra festival in *Manimekalai* and the Kama festival in *Silappadigaram* in support of his statement that these festivals were regulated in a certain manner by the question being based on the assumption that 771 and 756 A.C. are the actual years in which the events mentioned in the two epics respectively occurred. Thus with regard to twenty-eighth Chittirai also, his date fails to satisfy.

Now coming to the dates in Vaikasi, the commentator explicitly says that the general bath in the sea took place on the twenty-eighth and the journey on the night of the twenty-ninth before daybreak. 756 A.C. perfectly satisfies the details on twenty-eighth Vaikasi, but with regard to the journey, the most important event of the poem and the one most charged with

fatal consequences and which formed the basis of Adiyarkunallar's speculations, the date breaks down hopelessly in regard to the *tithi*; for according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself, there was full moon all night on Tuesday and consequently there could have been no brief interval of darkness between moonset and sunrise. So he is forced to suppose that Tuesday night means the night before Tuesday, *i.e.*, Monday night in fact. But an astrological combination of Tuesday and Jyeshtha sometime, at least four hours after they have started, would not affect them at all. The Nasa Yoga must be present when they start. Here it is not so. To support his assumption, he adduces the evidence of the text to show that the hero and the heroine started on the same day as the general sea bath. This only shows that the commentator conflicts with the text and is, therefore, unreliable. He had further to suppose that in former times, they may have considered the Sankranti with reference to the *actual* moment of sunset, without any evidence therefor, simply because in 756 A.C. the Rishabha Sankranti happened only 30 gh. 30 pa. after mean sunrise on 20th April, and would, therefore, postpone the first of Rishabha by one day. A theory requiring so many assumptions, corrections, and modifications of the commentary must be wrong. He notes that there was an eclipse at this particular full-moon, but he adds, 'But it need not concern us, as neither text nor commentary refers to that phenomenon' It would be remarkable, if 756 A.C. were the true date, that neither the text nor the commentary which details the unfavourable omens at the time of starting refer to the particularly inauspicious omen of a lunar eclipse, if it had in fact occurred.

Let us see if 756 A.C. at least satisfies the conditions of the text. According to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's calculation on Friday the 23rd July 756 A.C., there was a combination of Bharani, Krittika and 08, at mean sunset, but my calculations yield only Aswini till 38 gh. 16 pa. after sunrise and 06 till 41 gh. 20 pa. after sunrise, so that there could have been no Krittika or 08 that day at all. Even granting the correctness of his calculations, his date still fails to satisfy for the reason that the burning of Madura happened at about midnight,

வெள்ளியம்பலத்து கள்ளிருட்டிற்சே

ஞானஞற்ற வீரபத்தினிமுன்

மதுரைமா தெய்வம் வந்துதோன்றி etc. silap. பதிம. 41-3

that, as stated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself, the star of fire is Krittika but the *அரும்பதவுணையாடுநியர்* 'more out of regard for facts than in view of the literal meaning of the words,' has thought fit to mention the fact that it was properly a day of Bharani, and that consequently the combination of Bharani and 08 must be present about midnight on that day. Even if it satisfies the

conditions of the text, it would be of nouse unless it were proved that the Sangam age *must* be sought for in the eighth century A.C., for within a century of the second century A.C, I found a dozen dates satisfying the conditions of the text alone, *i.e.*, Bharani-Krittika, Adi, Friday and 08. Thus 756 A.C. is thoroughly unsatisfactory.

We will now show that the commentary is absolutely untrustworthy in regard to these astronomical data. Silap. VI. 5-6, tells us that the Indra festival is to begin on the day of Chitra next month, *i.e.*, Chittirai, as the Kama festiyal was celebrated in Pangūni. This shows that the beginning of the Indra festival was regulated by the month and Nakshatra only. Adiyarkunallar comments thereon that the close of the Kama festival was on the 29th Panguni, a day of Chitra. From his statement that the 28th Chittirai was Saturday and 28th Vaikasi was Monday, we can infer that that Chittirai had only 30 days and consequently that the previous Panguni had 31 days. Since on the 29th Panguni the star was Chitra. Svati, which ought to have come on 30th Panguni, could not have been the star of the first Chittirai which was three days removed from the 29th Panguni, and yet the commentator says the first Chittirai was a day of Svati. Moreover, if the 29th Panguni was a day of Chitra, the Indra festival ought to have begun on the 25th and not the 28th Chittirai, as from one Chitra to the next it would take only about 27 days. But perhaps *சுண்டு திங்களும் ததையும் கூரியது* suggests that 29 refers to the *tithi*. If so, since Adiyarkunallar understands by Purva Paksha the bright half, (*see* his commentary on Silap. X. 1-3) the *tithi* would be 014, and on the next day, first Chittirai, a day of Svati, we ought to have 015 and not 03 or 01. Thus all his statements conflict with one another. We have already noted that 03 on the first Chittirai conflicts with 014 on the 29th Vaikasi. Again, both 'சாலேழ் காளிலும்' (Man. I-8) and the commentary state that the festival lasted for only 28 days. So if it began on the 28th Chittirai, it ought to have ended on the 26th Vaikasi. The flag must have been taken down that day and the sea bath must have been on the 27th and not the 28th Vaikasi. Moreover, Adiyarkunallar says the sea bath and the journey were on different days. But the text is explicit to the contrary. Immediately after Kovalan, quarrelling with Madhavi on the day of the sea bath, goes away from her, the latter sent Vasantamala to Kovalan with a message. Kovalan spurned it. Hearing this Madhavi says that if he may not come at night, he is sure to come in the morning. (Silap. VIII. 68-71 and 109-118.). Thereafter Kovalan went straight to Kannagi and induced her to leave home with him that same night before day break. These show clearly that the journey and the sea bath happened on the same day. Besides the commentator's combinations are, as we have noted already, impossible for the whole period from I to 1300 A.C. We have

thus seen that Adiyārkunallār is a bungler in astronomical matters. He seems to have taken up the popular Nāsa Yoga செவ்வாய் and செட்டை for his basis, and to have worked out the other details as best he could. On the other hand, in the text of the poem we have no indication whatever that the author believed in or knew astrological combinations, and in giving us the *tithis* and Nakshatras, he seems to be giving us merely details of fact and not omens auspicious or inauspicious. If his purpose was astrological, he would have written more explicitly as to the Nāsa Yoga and the omens at time of starting.

The astronomical details could not be said to have come down to Adiyārkunallār by tradition, for besides their forming an impossible combination, the earlier அகம்பரஞ்ஞாயந்திரியர் (who, however, cannot be earlier than 850 A.C., since he quotes the *Jivakachintamani* which Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has correctly shown to have been composed about 813 A.C.) does not mention them at all.

It may be asked why because the astronomical references in a book point to a certain date, that should be approximately the date of the work. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai argues (to my mind reasonably and convincingly) that in the absence of a perpetual ephemeris in those days, the poet would be driven to resort to contemporary *panchangas* and that we are, therefore, entitled to infer that any particular astronomical combination mentioned by a poet and referable to only one date must have been obtained by him from a contemporaneous *panchanya*, especially as it is doubtful if the ancient Hindus were in the habit of calculating backwards, and as the author could have had no motive or inducement to so calculate backwards, even if they had the adequate astronomical knowledge. But it is quite unsafe to say that the commentator is wrong here and wrong there, to correct his statements just as we choose and then to base a theory on such modified conditions. We must find a date satisfying the conditions of the commentary just as they are, or reject them altogether as of no use.

We may now consider Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date for *Manimekalai*. It is based on Man. XI. 40-6, XII. 75-8 and XV. 19-26. He argues that in these passages we have a reference to the reappearance of Buddha after 1,616 years, that this event actually took place at the moment when Manimekalai visited the sacred pool in Manipallavam, that the day on which it happened was the 13th Rishabha, a day of Visakha and 015, and that these data enable us to fix the date of the work as 771 A.C. We will now examine these statements one by one.

In the first passage, Divatīlakari tells Manimekalai that on the day of Buddha's anniversary, a day of Visakha, Āputtiran's begging bowl would appear above the waters of the pool and that was the very day and moment.

Mr. Swaminatha Aiyar interprets the passage as referring to an annual solemnity, quite in conformity with the dying command of Āputtiran:

கோமுகியென்னுங்கொழு தீரிலஞ்சிய
ஞெரியாண்டொரு நாட்டோன்றென விடுவோ
 னருளறம் பூண்டாக் காருப் போம்புக
 இளரெனில்வர் கைப்புருவாய் (Man. XIV. 91-4).

Moreover, up to the time of this dialogue, there has been no reference whatever to the reappearance of Buddha, nor is there any reference to it in this passage. The dialoguc was about the sacred bowl and its annual appearance. If Divatilakai had intended to tell Manimekalai that that day Buddha was expected to reappear, she would have in unambiguous terms proclaimed that all important fact. The notion of reappearance appears for the first time only in the passage from canto XII, where it is significant that it is referred to as a future event by the term 'தோன்றும்', and not as an event that had already occurred though Manimekalai's visit to Aravanavadigal, who proclaims the reappearance is subsequent to her visit to the sacred pool at Manipallavam, and though, according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, Buddha had already reappeared at the time of the latter event. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai says:—"It may be presumed that the reappearance of Buddha was to happen in or about the time of the speaker. In a later portion of the poem, Madhavi's father expresses the hope that he himself may at some future day, though remote, receive instruction from the new Buddha. The remoteness must be understood to refer to the probability of the new Buddha appearing as a teacher in the same way as Gautama had done, i.e., in his thirty-sixth year. For an old man like Madhavi's father, a time thirty-five years hence, is remote enough and may even have to be placed in his next birth." Every one of these statements is incorrect. There is absolutely no reference in *Manimekalai* to any such person as Madhavi's father, though we do read of Masattvan, Kovalan's father, who does express the hope referred to. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai suggests the possibility of Buddha's reappearance referring to his Sambodhi in his thirty-sixth year. But if he had read only a few lines below the passage he has quoted, he would have found it refers to Buddha's second birth, and not second Sambodhi. For, starting from the line புத்தனாவிறதோன்றுக்கால் it narrates various miraculous events which will attend such appearance, which are usually associated only with a great man's birth and not his public appearance (compare the lives of Jesus, Krishna and Buddha) and closes with

அந்நாட்பிறத்தவனருளறக்கேட்டோ
 நின்னாப்பிறவி யிகத்தோராநலிற் (Man. XII. 99-100.)

We cannot construe அந்நாட்பிறத்தவன் as அந்நாட்பிறத்து referring to the தேட

பேர் and அவன் referring to Buddha, as அவன் being a pronoun cannot be used separately without mentioning the person referred to thereby immediately before, and the name of Buddha is separated from அவன் by many lines referring to various persons and things. Besides, in that case, it would mean that only persons born on that particular auspicious day would be freed from rebirth, and all others, though born in the new Buddha's lifetime and though they have listened to his teachings, would be lost. So we must take அக்காட்பிறந்தவன் as one word referring to Buddha reborn on that auspicious day. That the reappearance is to be an event in the remote and not near future is clear from many passages in *Manimekalai* and, therefore, the presumption that it is to happen in or about the time of the speaker is unfounded. Aravanavadigal does not say that such miraculous events attendant on Buddha's rebirth have already occurred, though, according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, Buddha had then already re-appeared. Aravanavadigal himself says in a later chapter that both himself and *Manimekalai* will have many births and deaths before the glorious time of Buddha's re-appearance. (Man. XXI. 167-9 and 175-9). In a still later chapter, the spirit of Kannagi says to *Manimekalai* as follows :—

மேற்செய்கல் வினையின் விண்ணவர்க்கென்றே
மவ்வினை யிறுதியினடுசினப்பாவ
மெவ்வகை யானுமெய்துதலொழியா
அம்பரிக்ஷயிழிம்பரிற் பல்பிறப்
பியாங்கணு மிருவினையுய்த்து மைப்போல
நீங்கரும் பிறவிக்கடவிடைநீத்திப்
பிறத்த பிறத்தமுழுவோம்பின்னர்

புத்தரூயிரு தோன்றிப்
போதிமூலம் பொருத்தி அந்நருனித்
நீதறுகால் வகை வாய்மையும் தெரித்து

யன்புற மனத்தோடவன்ருங்கேட்டுத்
துறவியுள்ளக் கீதான்றித்தோடரும்
பிறவிரீத்தபெற்றியமாகுவம் (Man. XXVI. 35-59.)
அத்திறமாயினுமகேக்கால
மெத்திறத்தாரக்குமிருத்தியஞ் செய்குவம் (XXVI. 60-1.)

Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar comments on the last passage, 'யாங்கிருவாணத்தை யகடவது பலதானைக்குப்பின்பேயாயினும்.' And the passage on which Mr. Swamikannu Pillai relies for his presumption is itself, if anything, in favour of our view.

திவினையுருப்ப

ஆங்கத்திலினை யின் னுத் துய்த்து

மந்தான் ங்கவனறநெறிசேட்டுவன்.

யசனு

(Man. XXVIII. 138-147.)

It is significant that none of these who refer to Buddha's re-appearance seem to be conscious of the glorious event that has already happened. In the third passage quoted by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, Aravanavadigal relates to Manimekalai the history of Āputtiran and his rebirth. He says that Āputtiran was reborn on Buddha's anniversary day with signs attendant on Buddha's own birth. Some wondered at this.

போதிமாநவன் பூமிபிற்றோன்றும்

காலமன்றியுங் கண்டனநெற்பென

(Man. XV. 29-30.)

But Āputtiran is not Buddha reborn of whom Aravanavadigal in this very conversation foretold. He relates the two as unconnected events. Besides, only a few lines below this passage we are told that Punyaraja, Āputtiran reborn, was now a young ruling prince.

அரைசாள்செக்ஷமவன்பாலுண்மையி

னினாதார் வேந்தனாயினன் (Man. XV. 44-5.)

So that Punyaraja's birth was an event at least sixteen years old, whereas it ought to have occurred only the day before, if he was the re-born Buddha, for on the very day of Manimekalai's visit to the sacred pool at Manipallavam, she returns to her mother and without further delay she visits Aravanavadigal to learn the history of Āputtiran. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself recognises this when he assigns 752 A.C. to Punyarajan's birth and 771 A.C. to Buddha's re-appearance.

Thus two of the three passages quoted by him give the astronomical data but do not refer to the re-appearance, while the other passage refers to the re-appearance but does not give the data. The astronomical data are those that refer to Buddha's anniversary day, for on that day both Punyaraja's birth and the annual appearance of the sacred bowl happened. Now we will elucidate the data. இருது இளவேனில் எரிகதிர் இடபம் gives us Vaikasi in the season of spring. மீனத்திடை திலை மீனத்தகையபித் means the middle Nakshatra which, since it refers to Buddha's anniversary day, must be Visakha in the old Krittikadi order. What does ஒருபத்தின் மேலும் ஒருமூன்றுசென்றபின் mean? Pandit Swaminatha Aiyar takes it, combined with the next line, as referring to Visakha, for Visakha is the fourteenth Nakshatra in the Krittikadi order. This seems to be correct for the reason that an anniversary cannot be fixed with regard to the month, Nakshatra and the *tithi* also. Moreover, the *tithi* of

Buddha's anniversary was not 014 but 015, and with regard to the particular anniversary day mentioned in *Manimekalai* in connection with Manimekalai's visit to Manipallavam, we are explicitly told in the text itself that the *tithi* was full-moon.

மதிநாண்முத்றிபயம்க் கலத்தினாள் (Man. X. 83.)

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai takes the expression to refer to the thirteenth solar day of the month. The ancient practice of citing dates was by month, *tithi* and Nakshatra, and the modern practice is to cite dates by month, solar day and week day. If the author had been following the modern practice, he would, instead of citing the Nakshatra, have cited the week day. So he must be following the ancient practice in which the solar day is decidedly out of place. Even granting the reference is to the solar day, how did the theorist get the thirteenth day? The passage means 'after 10+3 had passed', i.e., fourteenth. Again, he does not count the 1,616 years from 544 B.C., the traditional date of Buddha in Burma, Siam, Ceylon and India, which is also the true date according to Dr. Goldstücker. Mr. Jayaswal and in my opinion and to which Hiuen Tshang refers when he says that some Buddhists in his time believed in an era of Buddha's death, which began 1200 years before his own time, i.e., about 1200-640 = 560 B.C. (Watter's Yuan Chwang II. 28), for that would land him in 1616-543 = 1073 A.C. So he says that the Tamil Buddhists believed in the traditional date of China 850 B.C. which, to suit his own purposes, he corrects to 846 B.C. As usual, he adduces no evidence for this statement. Why the Tamil Buddhists should have preferred the Chinese traditional date to their own is not clear. And it is strange that they should not have used this era for any other purpose. We have thus seen that every link in the chain of his argument is weak.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai argues that the mention of a week day in *Silappadigaram* assigns it to the eighth century A.C., since, according to Dr. Fleet, week days were borrowed by Hindus from the Greeks, along with the full list of planetary names and their astrology only about 400 A.C. and were not in common use in any part of India before the eighth century A.C. If he had only looked into the *Tevaram*, he would have known that week days were in common use in South India at least in the middle of the seventh century A.C. For, in the second *Tirumurai*, in the *செயுறுந்நாளி பதிசெம்* of Sambandha we find an explicit reference to the planets in their week day order, and the very nature of the reference shows that the citation was common in South India at that period, because this is not the natural order of the planets arranged according to their distances from the sun. In reply to the request of his disciples that he should start for Madura on an auspicious day, Sambandha says that to the devotees of Siva all planets and stars are equally aus-

precious, and he would not have mentioned the planets in their week day instead of natural order, unless in his days the use of week days was very common.

ஞாயிற்றுதிங்கள் செவ்வாய் புதன் வியாழம் வெள்ளி

சனியாம்பிரண்டுடனே

யாசுறுதல் நல்லவை நல்லதல் வடியாரவர்க்கு மிகவே

How does Dr. Fleet prove his theory? He says that the earliest inscription which cites week days dates 484 A.C., that week days are not mentioned in works definitely ascertained to be early, and that Indian astrology resembles that of Paulus Alexandrinus. If week days are not cited in inscriptions before 484 A.C., we can only infer that inscriptions mentioning week days which do not give their own dates must be presumed, until proof to the contrary is forthcoming, to be later than 484 A.C. We have proved that week days were in common use in South India in about 650 A.C., and yet down to 800 A.C., only a dozen inscriptions cite week days. If by some chance these dozen inscriptions were lost, are we entitled to infer therefrom that week days were unknown in India before 800 A.C.? The fact is that a convention would be handed down from generation to generation among the composers of inscriptions as to the style and formula of composition. And it may have taken centuries before the old custom of dating inscriptions by *Paksha*, *Tithi* and *Nakshatra* was abandoned and the new one of dating by week days was resorted to; though the use of week days was a common mode of reckoning among the people. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself suggests the possibility of Indian astrologers practising in Rome in the first century A.C. having brought back with them Chaldaean *Panchangas* mentioning week days and introducing their use in India. But until he finds a precise reference to a week day, or to the full list of the planets in the order of their distances from the earth in our ancient literature, he would assign such references to 400 A.C., or later. Even if we succeed in proving the use of week days in our ancient literature, it is still possible for him to maintain that the reference is an interpolation or that for that very reason the work is recent. But in that case the burden of proof would rest heavily on him. Most of the Puranas mention the full list of planets, and the *Matsya*, the *Padma*, and the *Vishnu* Puranas take the planets in their week day order. (*Matsya* ch. 93. verses 10-20; *Padma* Part 5, chs. 78, 79 and 82; *Vishnu* Book I. ch. 12.) The *Matsya* is not later than the last quarter of the third century A.C. (Pargiter's *Puranic Text*. Introduction paras 48-52.) Thus week days were known in India before 300 A.C. Again the *Vaikhāṇasa Sūtra* mentions *Budhavarā*, i.e., Wednesday (Macdonell's *Skt. Lit.*, p. 262). Macdonell assigns the *Sūtra* period to 600-200 B.C. But the *Vaikhāṇasa Sūtra* alone, he maintains, belongs to the third century A.C. (not to the fifth century A.C. like Dr. Fleet) for the reason that it mentions

the worship of Narayana and Budhavana. But if it can be shown that the work is certainly anterior to the third century A.C. and that the worship of Narayana is very ancient, it follows that week days were known in India before 200 B.C., there being no further reason to differentiate it from the other Sutra works. The *Manusmṛiti* refers to Vaikhanasamatha (VI. 21). Kulluka Bhatta explains it as the doctrines relating to the functions of ascetics fully embodied in the Sutras of Vaikhanas. (M. Seshagiri Sastri's *Search for Sanskrit and Tamil MSS.* II. p. 8.) This clearly shows that *Vaikhanasa Sutra* was prior to and quoted in the *Manusmṛiti* which, in its modern form, is not later than about 200 A.C., as Dr. Bühler has shown for very sound reasons. (*Manu.* S. B. E. Introduction.) We can place it definitely in C. 270 A.C. The present *Manusmṛiti* not only denies the Andhras the position of a Kshattriya, but it describes them as a tribe formed by the intermixture of Vaidehaka men and Karavarawomen, thus giving them a very low status in society and says that they stayed outside the village and assigns them slaughter of wild animals as their occupation. (X. 36, 48.) The Andhras were ruling from C. 230 B.C. to 230 A.C. This description would, therefore be possible only after 230 A.C. Again, the Licchivis are described in the *Manusmṛiti* as outcastes, (X. 22) which would not be possible after the Guptas, who were proud of their descent from Licchivis, began to rule in C. 310 A.C. Thus the date of the *Manusmṛiti* is C. 270 A.C. And if we consider that for the Gupta to aspire to the hand of a Licchivi princess as an honour, the Licchivis should have been prominent rulers for at least fifty years, the *Manusmṛiti* is not later than C. 250 A.C. (S. V. Ketkar's *History of Caste in India* I. 65-6.) It cannot be said that these references to the Andhras and Licchivis and other tribes are interpolations, because of the fact that to make some statement about their status was a necessity and an excuse for a new treatise on Dharma like the present *Manusmṛiti*. Thus in any case the *Vaikhanasa Sutra* is not later than 200 A.C. and week days were known in India at least in the second century A.C. if not before 200 B.C. Since the *Manusmṛiti* in I. 10 explains that Narayana was so called since the waters were his first place of motion, and since Bhasa's plays (not later than 350 B.C. See Ganapati Sastri's Introductions to the *Swapnavasavadatta*) frequently refer to the worship of Narayana, that would be no sound reason to assign to the *Vaikhanasa Sutra* a late date.

The Hindus must have borrowed week days direct from the Chaldeans, who knew their use from 3800 B.C. (Laing's *Human Origins* I.), and who were in communication with the Hindus at least from the time of Darius' conquest of the Punjab (C. 500 B.C.) and not from the Greeks who themselves generally used week days only in the third century A.C., and who did not know them before the first century A.C. Finally, if the astrology of the

Hindus resembles that of Paulus Alexandrinus closely, it is clear that Paulus must have been the borrower.

If the Hindus had adopted the planetary names and week days only in C. 400 A.C., it is impossible that they could have affected the cosmic conceptions of Yugas and Manvantaras based on the revolutions of the planets, which are peculiar to the Hindus, within fifty years of their introduction, since already in C. 450 A.C. they appear in their developed form in the Indian Siddhantas or astronomical works, and that they could have appeared in inscriptions as early as 484 A.C. Our view is confirmed by the following from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (eleventh edition 'Calendar'). "Although the week did not enter into the calendar of the Greeks, and was not introduced at Rome till after the reign of Theodosius, it has been employed from time immemorial in almost all eastern countries." It does not seem that India alone is in this passage excluded from 'almost all eastern countries'.

We have thus shown, from all the evidence available on the point, that the Sangam age must be found in the second century A.C., that most of Mr. Raghava Aiyangar's evidences support our position rather than his, and that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's theories are not only groundless but mischievous in so far as they are calculated to introduce wrong methods of investigation by substituting prepossessions for inquiry, assumptions for proof, and rhetoric for reasoning.

THE HOYSALA EMPIRE

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY S. SRIKANTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

SECOND PART

ON the last occasion I addressed you upon the subject of the Hoysala Empire, I traced the origin of the Hoysala dynasty to one Sala, discussing his connection with Madhusūdhana, a descendant of Kṛishṇa and passed on to recount the valiant deeds of the successive Hoysala rulers till the death of Viṣṇuvardhana. I also described to you the part played by religion in the expansion of the Hoysala Kingdom into an empire and estimated the great political importance of Viṣṇu's conversion, dwelling upon the extent of religious toleration that existed even in those early days at a time when Europe was rent asunder by deep religious strife. Before taking up the thread of this narrative I consider it necessary briefly to refer to the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1916, as it had not been published when my last lecture was delivered in February. You were there told that Kāma was the earliest known descendant of the eponymous ancestor Sala, and that Vinayāditya was referred to the period 1047 to 1100, it being also mentioned that a few inscriptions added a certain Kari between Sala and Vinayāditya, which, it was suggested, might have been another name for Kāma and that the earliest mention of the name Poysala was in a grant of 1004 A.D. It now transpires that, according to an inscription copied at Hosahalli near Maralē in the Chickmagalur Taluk, a son of Arēkalla, distinguished by the titles of Samanta Rāma and Nanni-Kandarāya and his grandson, Poysala-Maruga, fought with the Nolamba King, Anṇiga, and fell at Sirivura. This Anṇiga was defeated in A.D. 940, by the Rashtrakūṭa King, Kṛishṇa III, and it is suggested that Arēkalla was perhaps a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas. Need I say that this great find furthers my theory of the origin of the Hoysala capital after the Rashtrakūṭa King Dhōra? Then, the annual report reveals to us another Vinayāditya, ruling in Vikrama 1060, i.e., 1012 A.D.

This Vinayāditya is subordinate to the Chālukya Vikramāditya V, Tribhuvanamalla (1009-1018 A.D.). It cannot be possibly contended that the same Vinayāditya reigned from 1012 to 1100 for a period of 88 years and, besides, the certain insertion of Kāma for a period of at least seven years from 1022 gives the lie to it, and who knows in the bewildering maze of Mr. Narasimhaachar's activities, Kari comes to gain a definite place and not as an *alias* for Kāma? This will also explain the grants of 1004 and 1006 in the time of Rāja Rāja and possibly the Vinayāditya who was put to flight by Rāja Rāja's general, Apramēya, in the latter year, is this king of whom we hear for the first time. I think it may be agreed, the record being quite genuine, that this king, called Vinayāditya I. ruled from some date up to 1022, that Kāma followed him possibly up to 1047, being then succeeded by his son, Vinayāditya II. There is still another name to conjure with in the report, and you will probably be surprised to hear it is Udayāditya. He that is referred to is not the younger brother of the celebrated Viṣṇuvardhana but Mahamaṇḍalēsvara Tribhuvanamalla Talakādugoṇḍa Bhujabala Viraganga Hoysala Dēva Udayāditya Dēva, who attained the world of the Gods at Kelevatti, the event being commemorated by Rahutagavuda on the 10th lunar day in the bright fortnight of Kārtika of the year Krōdhi, corresponding to 1064 A.D. We are further informed that Mahamaṇḍalēsvara Kumāra Ereyanga granted from the year Sōbhakritu a *kasu* of one *pana* at Bidinūr to this Gavuda for having devotedly given his life. Now the earliest known date of Ereyanga is 1063, and Udayāditya, the younger brother of Viṣṇu, who died at Kellavathi, of Nirguṇḍanādu in 1122-3 (Hassan 102), could not possibly have been born at the date under discussion and attained so much prominence as to be Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Hoysala Dēva and the rest which he never was in preference to Ereyanga himself and his other two sons known to fame, one of whom shed a lustre upon the whole dynasty. Nor is it at all likely that Ereyanga the father would then be described in the affectionate terms of a son, Kumāra Ereyanga, while giving a grant. This Udayāditya and this Kumāra Ereyanga can thus be only two other interesting personalities of the Hoysala royalty of whom we now know very little. It may yet be that the untiring industry and resourcefulness of Mr. Narasimhaachar will usher into the realm of history Vinayāditya I, Udayāditya, his son Kumāra Ereyanga and Kari in their full dress of royalty, filling the hitherto inexplicable gaps before Kāma Hoysala and between the dates usually ascribed to Vinayāditya II, and the eponymous Sala himself might be proved to be not a mythical Sala but an individual who did once live.

Permit me to remind you, once again, that we are at the beginning of the reign of Narasiṃha to which we shall now direct our attention :—

Narasimha I.

Narasimha I, also called Vijaya Narasimha, became king on the demise of Vishṇuvardhana. Vishṇu's younger brother, Udayāditya, had died in 1123, all we know of him being that he had led a victorious army against Jagaddēva along with his two other brothers under his father's directions.

Narasimha's inscriptions belong to the years 1141-1173. Mr. Rice gives his dates as 1141 to 1173, but Mr. Sewell puts them as 1141 to 1191. According to Channabasava Kalajnana, he reigned from 1145 to 1188. The date 1145 seems more appropriate than 1141 so far as his accession to the throne is concerned for reasons explained when dealing with Vishṇuvardhana's death. As regards the later date, an inscription definitely says that Vira-Ballāla was crowned on July 23, 1173. Even although the ceremony of coronation has nothing to do with actual rule as we understand it in these days, still, however, considering that inscriptions of Narasimha go as far as 1173 and no further, it may be safely assumed that he reigned till 1173 when he probably died.

Narasimha was crowned on the day of his birth in 1133. He is first introduced into the government of the country as a Yuvarāja in his father's lifetime. The permanent change of capital to Dōrasamudra from Bēlur is attributed to him and seems to have taken place after his accession. Vishṇu, owing to his campaigns in the north, was hardly able to keep long at Dōrasamudra at any one time, and conquest and consolidation of acquired provinces led him away from the capital now to Talakād, at another time to Kōlār and on a third occasion to the disturbed further north and so on. Wherever he stopped for a time became a capital, and this explains the mention of a number of places as his capitals in Vishṇuvardhana's inscriptions. Before his death, arrangements for the administration of the conquered territories had been so far complete that Vishṇu had felt he may safely reside permanently at Dōrasamudra. In 1133, Vishṇu ordered the city to be built on such a grand scale as might besit the name of the chief capital of the great and independent Hoysala Empire. The building, then commenced, was probably finished in the quiet reign of Narasimha, thus explaining the association of his name with the change of capital.

Narasimha was scarcely eight years old, or at the most eleven, when the heavy responsibility of governing a large and extended empire fell on his shoulders. In 1145, the Changālvya King was defeated and left dead on the field. In 1155, his general Chokkimayya, conquered the Changālvya once again. Narasimha defeated the armies of 'Drāvida, Magadha, Panchāla, Nēpāla and Lāla kings.' (Ec. III. 16.) He advanced against the Chōlas in person and put them to flight. The Kongu Kalinga king was also defeated and pursued beyond the limits of his kingdom. The King of Mālava was

subdued. Minister Bittiga even claims for his master the conquest of the Nilagiris. Probably an expedition was fitted out to this disturbed territory in this reign after its conquest by Vishṇuvardhana.

There was a campaign directed against the suzerain power of the Chālukyas in A.D. 1143, which suffered severe reverses at the hands of Jagadēkamalla. Whether this is the same as what has been described by Dr. Fleet, according to whom, in A.D. 1144, Permmadi I. seized the royal power of the Hoysalas and proceeded as far as Dōrasamudrā and beyond, putting the Hoysalas into a rout, cannot be stated for a certainty. At any rate, it is clear that subsequent to this date, Narasimha I. must have attacked the Western Chālukya and obtained what may be called a doubtful victory over him. Narasimha assumed the title of his contemporary, Jagadēkamalla, and called himself, at least once, Jagadēkamalla Narasimha. This may, of course, mean that the name was assumed to indicate his subordinate rank, but this explanation cannot be reconciled with the erection of a *basti* by his minister, Hulla, to commemorate his master's triumphs against the Chālukyas. At all events, it is certain that the war of independence, which commenced in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana, continued for several generations with intervals of peace only when one or other of the two parties was engaged in aggressive waves of conquest against neighbouring princes.

An army of the Kadambas marched against Bankapūr, but was defeated in 1161. In the next year, viz., 1162 A.D., there was an engagement between the Kalachuryas and the Hoysalas. The Hoysala general, Kallenayaka, attacked the Kalachuryas under Bēśada and Davirāja, the generals of Bijjala at Belgamē, and defeated them in 1166 A.D. The Kalachuryas make their first appearance against the Hoysalas in this period.

The Dēvagiri-Yādavas had become powerful by this time, and in the time of Narasimha I. took place the first of a series of scuffles for slices out of the Chālukyan territory, or for the occupation of some petty and weak principalities that lay between the two expanding rival powers. As Dr. Bhandārkar mentions, it was probably in one of these raids that Narasimha suffered a reverse. It has been suggested that he might have been killed in a conflict with the Yādava King, Bhīllama. (Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. II, P. 119, and Dr. Bhandārkar's "History of the Deccan," P. 105.)

Vijaya-Narasimha died in 1173, after a long and comparatively peaceful reign of more than thirty years. His reign is in marked contrast with the reign of his glorious father and that of his still more celebrated son. Coming between the two greatest Hoysala Kings, he suffers by a natural comparison. He gave the empire a long period of rest, during which the country grew settled and prosperous, and prepared the way for the achievements of the succeeding

monarch. Narasimha was likened more to God than to ordinary mortals, and was said to have loved rest and quiet, and enjoyed angelic peace in his dominions throughout his reign.

The devoted generals of his father, Hulla and Bittiga and Chokkimayya, the senior general and Sarvādhikāri and also Kūsubasavanna continued and added to the undying reputation of the army, which had been earned in the hard fought campaigns of the previous reign.

Vira-Ballala.

Narasimha's son by his queen, Echala Dēvi, was Ballala, celebrated as Vira (warrior), the greatest in the dynasty which is sometimes called Hoysala-Ballalas after him. An ingenious writer in the "Christian College Magazine" says that Ballala meant a strong man, from Bala-- strength, and Al man, and instances a 'Tuldhivant' being translated into a wise man. No doubt the latter interpretation is literally correct, and if the Hoysalas were really called Hoysala-Ballalas after the greatest name in the dynasty, the existence of the first Ballala is inexplicable, Ballala I. not being known by any other name. Again, the earliest Hoysala capital, Śāsakapuri, being in the Manjarābad country, can it be very improbable that from the beginning the Hoysalas were also known as Ballalas, because of the country they inhabited? It may be recollected that the Manjarābad country was part of the Hoysala Dominions and was called Balam, perhaps because it may have consisted of strong forts!

Ballala's inscriptions belong to the years 1154 to 1220. But as he was crowned on Monday, 22nd July 1173, he was a Yuvarāja for nineteen years. Even as Yuvarāja, he does not appear to have been quiet. For one thing he is credited with having established the Hoysala power north of the Tungabhadra in 1161-2. There is also evidence of his having rebelled against his father and set up a claim to the Hoysala crown with the assistance of the hill chiefs in the West, Tantrapāla Hemmadi having secured for him the co-operation of these Kongālva, Changālva and other hill chiefs (B.L. 86). In 1172, in an engagement at Huvinahalli (Hole-Narsipur Taluk) between the armies of the Yuvarāja and Narasimha I, the village was destroyed, and the Hoysala general, Bamēyanayaka was killed.

These hill-chiefs of the West, who had helped him against his father, were not spared however, and their turn came pretty quick. For we find Dandanāyaka Beṭṭadarasa, a general of the Hoysala army, marching in 1174, barely a year after Ballala's accession to the *gadi*, against Palpure—an old ruined fort in the southern part of Coorg. The Changālva Mahadēva, who had given offence by having assumed the title of Bhujabala and claimed independence, possibly as a reward for the help rendered to Ballala in his refractory days, was defeated in action and his country ruined. In recognition of his services

Bettadarasa was appointed viceroy of the newly conquered province whence, on the ruins of Palpure, a new capital having been built, Bettadarasa governed the country. This, however, did not complete the conquest of the Changālvās. Shortly after, Changālvā Pemma-Virappa collected all the rulers of Coorg and attacked Bettadarasa. The latter first met with a reverse but ultimately triumphed, reinforcements having arrived. The Changalvas finally submitted to the yoke of the Hoysalas as we see in the succeeding reigns.

In 1175, Biṭṭimayya was subdued and became a feudatory of the Hoysalas. The strong and hitherto considered impregnable fortress of Uchchangi was besieged and reduced by Ballala. The Chōla king had failed to take it in twelve years and the Hoysala ruler's easy success was significant. King Kāmadēva was restored back to his kingdom on praying for mercy. It was now that Vira-Ballala assumed the Paṇḍyan titles of Giridurgamalla and Sanivārasiddi.

The Kalachuryas had made their first appearance in the reign of Narasimha I. and carried raids into the Hoysala country in the sixties. In 1177, Ballala fought the Kalachuryas during one of their marauding campaigns but was unsuccessful. It has been suggested that it was about this time that Sankamadēva, the Kalachurya King, imposed his overlordship over Hoysala Dēva for some time at least. Possibly it was so; however, a battle is described to have taken place between the Hoysalas and the Kalachuryas in the year 1179. It cannot possibly be said whether these were different campaigns or separate references to one and the same action. By 1183 Ballala had sufficiently recouped himself, for he now attacked the Kalachuryas along with the Chālukyas. Brahma, a general of the Kalachurya army—formerly in the Chālukya army—was signally defeated by Ballala Dēva and the Kalachuryas thenceforth finally disappear from history.

Side by side with these short campaigns was going on a formidable preparation which must have taxed all the energy of Vira-Ballala. An anxious time of preparation, during which period his army must have been considerably increased and trained and placed on a war footing, was followed by the momentous events of Ballala's life, which were of the gravest political significance to the history of the Hoysalas. In 1183-4, after a period of over ten years, during which time he had consolidated the extensive conquests of his grandfather, Ballala commenced the most important of all his expeditions. Apart from some spasmodic attempts in early times, from Viṣṇuvardhana onwards, the one aim of the Hoysalas was to be independent of the Western Chālukyas and to extend their territory finally as far as the Krishṇa, which river formed a natural boundary in the north to their empire. These ambitions were not destined to be realised before they bore fruit in this reign.

We have seen that Vishṇuvardhana's attempts to shake off the allegiance of the Chālukyas was unsuccessful. In the time of his successor, Narasimha I. led an expedition which, however successful for the time, was not complete, in that the hegemony of the suzerain power continued. By nature and temperament peaceful, the pleasure-loving monarch is not likely to have made serious and sustained attempts to extend his power or territory. In 1151, the Chālukyas were attacked by the Kālachuryas from the north and defeated. For a time the latter established themselves in Chālukyan territory, even claiming homage, it is said, from the Hoysalas. This had led to Vira-Ballala's march, even as a Yuvarāja, with a powerful army, to the north in 1161-2. Possibly the expedition was undertaken for the relief of the suzerain power which was in difficulties. It may be that the Hoysalas thought they were not strong enough to bid for independence at that period, and considering that it was the peace-loving Narasimha that was occupying the Hoysala *gādi* at the time, it was well that they went in to assist the Chālukyas instead of exciting their wrath. As for the Chālukyas themselves, they would certainly not give up their hold over their territories but would, to be sure, try their best for a revival of power. This occasioned constant feud between the Chālukyas and the Kalachuryas which continued for another thirty years. The Dēvagiri-Yādavas were emerging from obscurity and had just begun their aggressive campaigns, but their rivalry with the Hoysalas for portions of the Kalachurya and Chālukyan empires had not yet commenced. Vira-Ballala had been casting longing, wistful eyes on the decaying empire. In 1161-2, the years when he went with his army to the north, he had conquered some territory lying between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna, and the Chālukyas were too weak to protest against its being annexed into the dominions of the Hoysalas under the nominal allegiance of the suzerain power.

A score of years later, in 1183, Vira-Ballala took the bold step of attacking the Kalachuryas and the Chālukyas at one time when the latter power was weakened and torn by the might of the Kalachuryas, who had themselves suffered severe losses although their efforts were crowned with success. We have already seen how the Kālachuryas succumbed to the Hoysalas and walked out of history. The Chālukyas also fell an easy prey before Ballala's vigorous attacks, having had to struggle for their very existence between the Hoysalas on one side and the Dēvagiri-Yādavas on the other. By 1184, Vira-Ballala had become master of the Chālukyan Empire and, as he had done in the case of Kalachuryan territories, amalgamated it with his own dominions. The Chālukyan empire, like the centralised Moghul empire of the days of Aurangzeb, fell to pieces when the strong hand of Vikramāditya VI. could no longer hold in check the several viceroys or Mahāmaṇḍalēsvaras who showed signs of insubor-

dination and aggression. From this chaotic state emerged Vira-Ballala and carved an empire unto himself, strong and united, out of the spoils of the decayed Chālukyan empire. Even the shadowy allegiance which the Hoysala kings had hitherto shown to their western Chālukya suzerains vanished, and the Hoysalas or the Hoysala-Ballalas became, in fact and in name, an independent dynasty and remained for at least another century the most important power in the south.

While on the point of the extinction of the Chālukyan Empire, it must be mentioned that the Dēvagiri-Yādavas, whose jealousies were roused at the signal success of Vira-Ballala whom they had hoped to see defeated, having regard to their own ambitious schemes with reference to the tottering empire of the Chālukyas, did not take the victories of Ballala, cooly. In 1187, Bhīllama, whose ambitions had been thus thwarted, with a hatred that became that of a natural kinsman and rival for power, attacked Ballala, but being defeated agreed to be his vassal. Bhīllama returned to his capital humiliated by this disastrous enterprise. In 1191-2, he determined to fight Ballala for his independence and despatched his son, Jaitugi I, who also met with similar reverses. Next the famous Yādava general, Semana, was sent. 'The formidable Scuna (Dēvagiri-Yādava) army came with as many as 200,000 infantry armed with thunderbolts and 12,000 cavalry, shining with high saddles and jewelled breastplates. Ballala Dēva administered a crushing blow to the Yādava forces at Sorati; near Gadag. The army was annihilated, the general was pursued as far as the Krishṇavēṇi river and there killed. Ballala had no further trouble with the Yādavas during the rest of his long reign.

After he had established himself as lord of an independent state, he pursued his career of conquest earnestly and captured a number of forts north of Mysore and put down local risings and troubles in his vast empire, Lakkigundi was captured about 1192 after a hard fought-battle, in which his general Kamēyanāyaka was killed, and Ballala had taken up his residence there by 1193. In 1196-7, Kamadēva of Banavasi and Hangal gave him some trouble. Ballala laid siege to Hangal and, after an initial reverse, subdued the turbulent chief. Its surrender meant the complete conquest of the Kadambas. Afterwards Ballala also took Anēgere (also in Dharwar). He next marched as far north as Erambarage (Kulbarga in the Nizam's dominions). His minister at the time, Armativalla, is even supposed to have had some connection with Gujarat. In 1198-9, the king halted at Vijayasamudra or Hullavar on the banks of the Tungabhadra. He had first gone there in 1180, probably when he was fighting for his independence, but from this time onwards he appears to have made it his capital and lived there for some ten years.

Vira-Ballala II. was the first independent king of the dynasty. After his defeat of the western Chālukyas, the Pāṇdyas, the Kalachuryas, the

Kadambas, the Dēvagiri-Yādavas and other contemporary rulers, he assumed, in 1192, the title of Mahārājādhirāja. He was also called Emperor of the South. He was the sole master of seven and a half lakh country. He extended his northern boundary finally to the river Krishna. His inscriptions are found in several places outside Mysore, and one of them mentions a grant to Kumaraswami temple at Sandur. He added additional ones to the long list of the Hoysala titles as worn by his predecessors.

After a long and eventful reign of 47 years during which period the Hoysalas were permanently established as the predominant power in the south over the ashes of the extinct Kalachurya and Chālukyan empires and after subduing all the little states that gave or were likely to give him trouble, Ballaladēva died in 1220, leaving an extensive empire and the dignity of the Emperor of the South as a heritage to his son. No king could withstand Virahallala, for when the tiger on his flag shook, he shook with fear in his mind and fled in terror like a hunted deer.

This lion to the lotus garden, the Paṇḍiyakula, uprooter of the Sevunakula and terrifier of the Konkana King, was fortunate in the ministers and generals that he possessed. Bittādarasa has already been mentioned. His favourite was Kuvara Lakshmi, of whom the inscriptions speak in very high terms of praise. This minister who was loved like a son by the emperor assisted him in the government of the provinces. They shared the marks of loyalty equally, and under them the country became very prosperous. The minister conquered for his master 'the whole world as far as the southern ocean.' He patronised learning without stint out of his munificence. His words were true and firm as letters stone-engraved. 'He was both a hand-mirror and a dagger in the hands of Ballala Dēva.' He put an end to his life when the king died and attained, as it is said, the world of the Gods.

Another minister, Kērēya Padmarasa, took great interest in the construction of tanks, and private enterprise in irrigation matters was largely encouraged and suitably rewarded.

Though Jainism was patronised as before and Srivaishnavism claimed its own adherents, Saivism was becoming more and more popular. 'In having refuted heretical doctrines by his polemical skill, Sivasakti established the Siva-Siddhanta and became pre-eminent among the upholders of Siva-samaya'. Ballala was himself Saivite and known as Siva Ballala.

Narasimha II.

Virā-Narasimha II. who succeeded Virā-Ballala, was Ballala's son by his crowned queen, Padamala Dēvi. His inscriptions date from 1207 to 1237, During the first thirteen years he was a Yuvarāja, and after his father's death, in 1220, became king. The natural boundary of the river Krishna having been

secured in the north, there was no need to extend the empire still further in that direction. The attention of Narasimha and his successors was consequently directed to the south. Ballala II. had already foreshadowed it in the course of his conquering expeditions. In 1220, Narasimha advanced in person against Srirangam and Trichinopoly, while another division of his army entered the South Arcot district, and overran the country from north to south. Within a period of about three years, Narasimha had subdued a large part of the Chola country and marched as far as Tirugokarnam near Pudukota. His next exploit was the extinction of the Mahara or Makara Kingdom, identified with Maharājavadi of the Banas. A number of petty chiefs on the eastern borders of his dominions were subdued. The Kadava King, Kopperunjingideva had taken the Chola King prisoner. Narasimha sent his generals, Appaṇṇa and Samudragopaiya, against the Kadava for the release of the Chōla. The King of the Chōlas was restored to his own kingdom. Narasimha also led a campaign against the Pāṇḍya king, whose activities were circumscribed within very narrow limits. In his reign the Hoysala Empire extended from Kanchi on the east to Bēlūr on the west and from the river Krishṇa in the north to Wynaad in the south. In an inscription of 1229, he is represented to be ruling from Kanchi with the surrounding ocean as boundary, even though the successes above mentioned belonged to 1231-4. Narasimha went as far as Sētu-where a pillar of victory was set up to commemorate his successes. It must be mentioned that the Hoysala empire reached its zenith in this reign, and that from the invasions of the Yādavas into the territory of their kinsmen dates the decadence of the Hoysala-Ballalas.

At a time when Narasimha's attention was rivetted on his southern conquests, the Yādavas, who were marching from the north, pierced into the country of the Hoysalas and attacked their possessions, one after another, north of the river Tungahhadra. Narasimha sent his son, Somēśvara, immediately to the scene, and some engagements appear to have taken place between the hostile armies about 1236. Though the Hoysala does not seem to have been victorious, the Dēvagiri-Yādavas also were not able to push forward their successes.

To the long list of titles the Hoysala emperor's bore, Narasimha added 'the uprooter of the Magara Kingdom, displacer of the Pāṇḍya, and establisher of the Chola'. Keshavadandanāyaka and Rangayyadanāyaka are mentioned as his great ministers in the south. Narasimha built the Hariharēśvara temple at Harihar, giving large endowments to it.

Somesvara.

Narasimha's son by Kalale Dēvi was Somēśvara who became king in 1233 (Ānanda). Even as a crown prince, he was helping his father. About

1228, he was at Kaṇṇanur in the Chola country as Mahārājādhirāja. As has been mentioned, he had taken part in an unsuccessful campaign against the aggressive Kṛṣṇa-Kandhara about 1236. Just about this period, he is also said to have been in Paṇḍyamandala. Soon after his accession, in a couple of years, it appears to have become necessary for him to advance against the Kadava king. The latter had probably assumed the same hostile attitude against the Hoysala ally, the Chola. The Kadava was defeated and his country subdued. In any case, Somēśvara was governing the Chola country also as a joint ruler with Rāja Rāja III, under the title of Sarvothama or universal emperor. On his death in 1243, Somēśvara became king of the Cholas also for a time. Somēśvara claims to have 'uprooted Rajēndrachola, while the latter claims to have been 'the hostile rod of death to uncle to Somēśvara'. In 1252, however, Rajēndrachola subverted the Hoysala power in his own territories and re-established the Chola domination in Tānjore and the surrounding country.

The Dēvagiri-Yādavas under Singhana continued their incursions into the Hoysala country and suffered a reverse in 1239. Possibly their growing power and influence in the north and 'the attractive political changes in the south' diverted Somēśvara's attention to the peninsular portion of South India. (Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. II, P. 124.) Somēśvara appears to have entered heart and soul into the deadly conflicts of the rival powers of the Cholas and the Paṇḍyas, and taken and changed sides with them as convenience demanded. The Kākatiya King of Warangal also came on the scene, took Kānchi and advanced beyond Srīrāṅgam. At one time, Somēśvara's forces were even fighting in the Tinnevely district.

Somēśvara had left his son, Narasimha III, in charge of the Hoysala territory around Dorasamudra when he went to the south. The Changāla feudatories, Somēdeva and Boppadēva ruled those hill-tracts from Srīrāṅga-pattana in Coorg. They received him well on his return where Somēśvara set up a Naṇḍi pillar on the banks of the Kāvēri and a thousand beautiful *lingas* at Ramanāthapura. He was killed about 1264 A.D. by a certain Sundara Pāṇḍya, possibly Jatavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

Narasimha III.

Somēśvara left two sons, Narasimha by Bijjala Dēvi, and Ramanātha by a Chālukyan princess, Dēvala Dēvi. On the death of Somēśvara, Narasimha occupied the 'Karnāta country,' while Rāmanātha ruled over the 'Tamil possessions' as far north as Pāṅgalore. Narasimha ruled the Hoysala country from Dorasamudra, while Rāmanātha lived either at Kaṇṇanur or in the north at Kuṇḍana. The latter place is identified with Kundana in the Devanahalli Taluk by Mr. Rice. Mr. F. J. Richards suggests it must be in the Salem

District 'above the Ghats,' and disagrees with Mr. Rice. Mr. H. Krishṇaśāstri seems to agree with Mr. Richards, an opinion which may be accepted until more satisfactory evidence is available.

Narasimha III. was born on the 11th or 12th August 1240. His *Upanayana* took place on 25-2-1255. His inscriptions cover the period of 1254 to 1294. As crown prince, he was in charge of the ancient Hoysala country when his father, Somēśvara, interested himself in reshaping the map of peninsular India, and was governing from Dorasamudra. Within about a year of his accession, his general, Cholagavuda, conquered Kaduvathi (Karvathinagar in North Arcot district) for his king.

The Dēvagiri-Yādas, who were hitherto slowly expanding their territory southward, drove the Hoysalas completely from the Heddore. The partition of the Hoysala Empire and the fratricidal strife between the royal brothers offered a most favourable opportunity for their incursions and, in 1271, the Yāda King, Mahadēva Rane, led an expedition against the Hoysalas but fled being unsuccessful. Another expedition under the famous Yāda general, Saluva Tikkama, was next sent into the very heart of the disturbed kingdom. Saluva Tikkama advanced unmolested throughout and, on the 25th April 1276, encamped at Belvādi hardly a league from Dorasamudra. The capital itself was laid under siege. Tikkama had been strongly re-inforced on his way by generals, Jayarāya and Haripāla, and by the army of Irungola. But Narasimha's able minister, Māle Dēva Daṇḍanāyaka, advanced from Dorasamudra to meet the Yāda army at Belavādi, where the 'lusty elephants of the Hoysala army' marched against the enemy and drove them in confusion from Belvādi to Dumeni (on the borders of the Shimoga and Chitaldrug Districts). The entire army that had advanced on the Hoysala capital was destroyed.

The defeat and destruction of the Yāda forces fanned the jealousy of Ramanatha, who had hoped to find his brother suffer severe reverses at their hands. He now declared open war against Narasimha and, in 1278, hostilities having commenced, a battle was fought at Soleyur. This proved indecisive, but before a final encounter could take place, Mālē Dēva intervened between the royal brothers, and they came to terms. This peace did not last long, however, and they appear to have fought against each other in 1280 and, again, in 1290. Two years later, in 1292, Narasimha died.

Narasimha's minister, Perumale Daṇḍayaka, is celebrated as Javanike Nārāyaṇa. It may be remarked, that being greatly interested, like his predecessors in public works, he carried out extensive irrigation works on his estate at Bellūr. It is interesting to learn that the fort of Daṇḍayakanakotoai in the south took its name from him. He was also called Nilagirisadaran. Probably Perumale led an expedition to the Niligiris to silence a local rising there

and returned building a fort on the hills. The later transformation of the name of the fort was due to his office being that of Dannayaka. In 1276, another minister, Soma, built the famous Somanāthapur temple, superior to the temples of Halebid and Belur. It is a complete temple and built without the help of any mortar.

Ballala III.

Narasimha's son, Ballala III, was crowned on 31st January 1292, and reigned till 1348. His first work as king was to order repairs to Chennakēśva temple at Bēlur.

His uncle, Vira-Rāmanātha, was still alive. He seems to have lived for another two years and, dispossessed in the south by the Paṇdyas, he seems to have settled at Kundaṇa, the capital of his northern dominions, awaiting expectantly an opportunity to make a dash for kingship at the ancient seat of the empire. After Narasimha's death he appears to have continued his raids into the Hoysala country but with small success. On his death, he was succeeded by his son, Vira-Visvanātha, in the Tamil districts. He disappeared from the scene some time after 1297 A.D., and before 1301, the Tamil districts again formed part of the ancient Hoysala Empire, Ballala III. giving his orders to his subjects in these parts in Tamil. Tanjore and Trichinopoly had, however, been lost to the empire, which now comprised the whole of modern Mysore, Kongu and a part of Konkan.

Ballala's sway over a re-united Empire did not last very long. In 1305, we find the Dēvāgiri-Yadavas carrying another expedition against the Hoysala territory, while in return Ballala marches against the Yādava. These strifes between the kinsmen stopped short very soon, both rulers being caught in the great whirlpool of the Mahomedan invasion from Delhi. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the Mahomedans effected a breach for the first time in their history and entered the south. In the general destruction which followed their march, Dorasamudra did not escape its share of misfortune. Mallik Kafur led the famous expedition to south India in the reign of Allaiddin Khilji, who had before now (i.e., 1310) destroyed the Yādava power north of the Krishna. On the 18th November 1310, Kafur advanced against Dorasamudra and besieged it. The Hoysalas, weakened by long internecine struggles for over half a century, and but a small power compared with the mighty Mahomedan Empire, could not long hold out and fell an easy prey to the Islamite conqueror. Before attacking Dorasamudra, Kafur informed Ballala that, if he became a follower of Mahomed, his capital would be spared and his kingdom given back to him. But Ballala replied that he was ready to surrender his kingdom, his capital and even his treasury but would not, under any circumstances, become an Islamite. Kafur in his rage ordered an instan-

taneous attack on the 'Kafir' capital. Dorasamudra was taken, plundered and sacked. Ballala's son was captured and removed as a hostage but he was restored in 1313.

Dorasamudra, after its destruction at the hands of the Mahomedan Vandals, was rebuilt completely before 1316. In 1327 Mahomed Toghlak sent another expedition to the south and this time the capital was razed to the ground. Ballala thereupon went to Virupākshapuram to stay during the construction of Tonnur (Mysore District). He had also in mind to settle at Unuamalu, where he had gone once before and which had become one of his permanent capitals by 1323. The Mahomedans, however, repeated their depredations. In 1333 we find a Hoysala general, Kētagavuda of Odarhalli (Channarayana Taluk) being killed in a battle with the Turukas. In 1337, a Mahomedan viceroy, Bahudeen, rebelled against the suzerain power and, pursued by the army of Toghlak, fled to the court of Ballala for protection; but Ballala, unwilling to risk the emperor's displeasure, delivered him up.

Repeatedly attacked by the Mahomedans, Ballala had lost much of his power and territory, and on his death in 1342, while fighting against the Mahomedans, the heritage he gave to his son was Tonnur and a few surrounding districts, the rest being absorbed into the Vijayanagar Kingdom.

This introduces us into the rise of a new and most powerful dynasty in South Indian history. During the struggles between Ballala III. and the Mahomedans, Harihara, a Hoysala feudatory, established himself at Anēgondi and, unobserved by his suzerain, increased his power and influence so much that, in 1336, he declared his independence and set up the kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Ballala IV.

Vira-Virupāksha-Ballala IV, son of Ballala III, was anointed to the kingdom in 1340, and the very next year a pillar of victory was erected at Sētu. From about this time, the Hoysalas continued as a subordinate power under the standard of the Vijayanagar Empire. Ballala IV. being even known as Hampaiya. In 1347, when war broke out between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, Ballala sent a force to the Hindu aid as a Vijayanagar feudatory.

The importance of the Hoysalas as an independent power ceased in 1327 and from that period Ballala III and Ballala IV were successively nominal rulers of the Hoysala Kingdom at Tonnur till Harihara effectively subverted their power and founded the great Vijayanagar Empire upon the remains of the old and ruined Hoysala Empire. For another three centuries, the Hoysala Empire was, as it were, continued by the Empire of Vijayanagar. The last Hoysala inscription belongs to 1381, in which year Harihara II. marched with a large army to the south and after defeating the Cholas and the Hoysalas, annexed their territories.

No descendants of the Hoysalas exist at the present day. In the North Arcot district, about the close of the 17th century, a poleyyar Kanhoji claimed to be descended from the Hoysalas. He erected a rest house at the foot of the Venkunram hill to the memory of his mother. This is the last mention of the name of Hoysala in any inscription and not even a trace of it is to be seen after this. On the loss of their power, the Hoysala princes, as was natural in such cases, lost their individuality after a time and were completely absorbed into the subject races. The name is perpetuated in this country in the designation given to the members of a particular Smartha Brahmana community who are known as Hoysala-Karnatakas.

APPENDIX.

Genealogy of the Hoysalas.

1. SALA. About 950 A.D., if not earlier.

|
*UDAYADITYA.

|
*KUMARA EREYANGA.

|
*KARI.

2. VINAYADITYA I. 1012—1022.

3. NRIPA KAMA. 1022—1047.

4. VINAYADITYA II. 1047—1095.

5. EREYANGA 1095—1100.

|
BALLALA I.
1100—1106.

|
VISHNUVARDHANA
1106—1141.

|
UDAYADITYA
d. 1123

8

|
NARASIMHA I.
1141—1173.

9

|
BALLALA II.
1173—1220.

10

|
NARASIMHA II.
1220—1235.

11

|
SOMESVARA
1235—1254.

12

|
NARASIMHA III.
1254—1294.

13

|
BALLALA III.
1294—1342.

14

|
BALLALA IV.
1343—

|
RAMANATHA
1254—1295.

|
VISVANATHA
1295—1297.

*The gap from Sala up to 1012 and the dates of these rulers have to be settled.

THE ANCIENT INDIAN NAVY

BY R. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR, ESQR., B.A.

THE civilization of a country is measured not merely by the efficiency of its internal, social and political organisation but by the contribution made by it to the sum total of the human knowledge and the international prosperity of the world at large. Judged by this standard, the ancient civilization of India ranked next to none within the short limits allowed to the oldest nations of the world, and although it was essentially spiritualistic and intensely religious, still it did not fail to make life worth living in this world, nor did it miss the opportunities for material advancement in all directions. The one infallible test of a country's material prosperity is its power of producing and distributing wealth by industry and commerce, apart from its conquest and colonization. Applying this test we find that the part played by India in the material evolution of the world in ancient days was in no way inferior to that of the Greeks and Romans of European fame. We have now ample evidence that even so far back as the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., India had extensive commercial intercourse with foreign countries, on the east coast of Africa, with Greece, Rome and England in Europe, with Asia Minor, Arabia, Persia, Ceylon, Burma and China in Asia and with the innumerable islands in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The foreign trade of India was then centred in the large seaport towns on its west coast, such as, Barugaza or the modern Broach, Surat, Kalyan, Goa, Calicut and Cochin, all of which were visited by the Greeks who followed Alexander the Great. India then sent out to foreign countries her spices, pepper, pearls, ivory, silks, ganjetiek, betel, precious stones, diamonds, jacinths, rubies and tortoise shell, and received from them in return great quantities of specie, topazes, plain and fine cotton cloths of different colours, stibium, coral, white glass, brass, tin, lead, wine cinnabar and orpiment¹. The pepper, cinnamon and frankincense of Malabar were found in the possession of the Venerable Bede who died in

¹ "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," by Dr. W. Vincent, Book IV, pages 457-459.

England in 735 A.D., while the introduction of tin into India, which was then considered exclusively the native product of England, is said to have followed the embassy of Seighelm, Bishop of Shirbourne, sent by Alfred, King of England, to Malabar in 872 A.D.² Dr. Vincent is surprised how the produce of India reached England at an age when communication with India was quite unknown to the Britons, but later researches have proved that copper, brass, tin and lead had existed in India long before the advent of the Greeks³ and that the Indians had penetrated not only into England, but farther also into Germany across the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, some 800 years before the time of Alfred the Great of England. Pliny (A.D. 77) tells us on the authority of Cornelius Nipos that the King of Suevi presented to Q. Metellus Celer, a Proconsul in Gaul, some Indians "who sailing from India for the purpose of commerce, had been driven by storms into Germany"⁴. The same incident is narrated in Tacitus' *Agricola* also, but Dr. Murphy, its translator, is unable to say "whether the Indian adventurers sailed round the Cape of Good Hope through the Atlantic Ocean and thence into the North Sea, or whether they made a voyage still more extraordinary by passing the island of Japan, the coast of Siberia, Kamchatska, Zembla, in the Frozen Ocean and thence round Lapland and Norway, either into the Baltic or the German Ocean"⁵. Be that as it may, it is an indubitable fact that India had become the chief mart of the world and the El-dorado of wealth long before the Christian era.

The origin of the navy began with the need for the protection of sea-borne trade; for, with the growth of commerce and navigation piracy also became rampant on the high seas, and the more it became virulent, the greater was the need for armed protection. The earliest authentic reference which we find as regards piracy is contained in the *Kautilya Arthashastra* a work composed in about 320 B.C. by Chāṇḍīyā, the famous Prime Minister of Māurya Chandragupta. One of the directions given by him to the superintendent of ships was to destroy "pirate ships (*himsrika*), vessels which are bound for the country of an enemy, as well as those which violated the customs and rules in force in port towns"⁶. At the outset the merchant vessels of India carried a small body of trained archers⁷ armed with bows and arrows to repulse the attacks of the pirates, but latterly they employed guns, cannons and other more deadly weapons of warfare with a few wonderful and

2 "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," by Dr. W. Vincent, Book IV, pages 460.

3 "The Kautilya Arthashastra," translated by R. Shama Sāstri of Mysore, page 98.

4 "Ancient India," by J. W. McCrindle, page 110.

5 *Ibid.*

6 "The Kautilya Arthashastra," translated by R. Shama Sāstri of Mysore, page 157.

7 Dr. Vincent's "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," Book IV, page 431.

delusive contrivances. In *Sukraniti* composed in about the fourth century A.D., we have a fine recipe for making gunpowder; "five *palas* of *suvarchi* salt, one *pala* of sulphur, one *pala* of charcoal from the wood of *arka*, *snuhi* and other trees burned in a manner that prevents the escape of smoke; e.g., in a close vessel, have to be purified, powdered and mixed together, then dissolved in the juices of *snuhi*, *arka* and garlic, then dried up by heat and finally powdered like sugar⁸". Different colours were given to the gunpowder so manufactured by the addition of lead, iron filings, camphor, indigo and the juice of *sarala* tree, etc. The *Nalastra*, or the gun, was first cleaned and the gunpowder was put in lightly at one end of it by means of a rod. The ball was then introduced into the gun, and as soon as fire was applied to the powder, the ball was projected against the objective⁹. Cannon balls were then made of iron or other strong metal with or without any other substances inside them, while the balls used for smaller guns were made of lead.

In an article contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. John Edye, late Master Shipwright of His Majesty's Naval Yard at Trincomali, in about 1833, has given a picturesque description of two kinds of armed merchantmen¹⁰ fitted with guns and cannons, which were in use in India from before the Christian era, viz., the *baggala* or the Budgerow, and the *Arab dow*. The *baggala*, he says, was one of the most ancient vessels which retained their peculiarity of form and extraordinary equipment from the period of Alexander the Great. They were 74 feet long from stern to taffrail, 25 feet broad and 11½ feet deep in hold, with a tonnage of 150 tons. They were armed with two guns on the after-part of the stern for defence against pirates; they had only one mast with a latteen sail and a huge yard made of two spars. The *Arab dow* another vessel of war, was 85 feet long, 21 feet 9 inches broad and 11 feet 6 inches deep, with full equipments for defence, and with decks, hatchways, ports, poop decks, etc. A preparation from *chunam* and oil called *galgal* was put between the planks and the sheathing-board to keep the vessel dry and durable, and to prevent worms and insects from attacking the bottom. Both these classes of vessels were constructed from the very earliest times at Cochin, on the Malabar Coast, which contained a resourceful supply of *dip* wood or pine tree, (*Chernemaram*) most suited for ship building.

The extraordinary development and success of these armed cruisers were mainly due to the perfection which the iron and the subsidiary industries had reached in India and the high proficiency which the Indians had attained in

⁸ Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar's "*Sukraniti*," chapter IV. sec. 8, page 236.

⁹ *Ibid.*, page 237.

¹⁰ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, pages 11 and 12.

N.B.—Please see the diagrams enclosed.

Astronomy and Meteorology long ago. Mrs. Spier ¹¹ and Doctor Royle have expressed astonishment how a primitive people like the Indians could have overcome the difficulties of smelting iron and forging steel, even during the Vedic and the Hindu periods of their history. The ore was first broken up into pieces and thrown into a charcoal furnace from whence it issued in a malleable state; it was then beaten into, what she calls, "an unpromising looking" bar; this bar being cut into pieces was thrown into a closed crucible of clay with dried branches of trees and green berries of various shrubs; after they had been exposed to the blast for two hours and a half, they were removed from the furnace and allowed to cool in the crucible, where the particles arranged themselves into crystalline forms of wortz or steel. Crude as the process might appear to be, it still possessed the advantage of simplicity, economy and effectiveness, and far surpassed the methods adopted in other countries. Mrs. Spier observes "this Hindu plan of boiling iron and green leaves and wood together in a closed crucible appears to excel even the methods most approved at Glasgow and Sheffield; for Mr. Heath ¹² says that iron is converted into cast steel by the natives of India in two hours and a half, while at Sheffield it requires at least four hours to melt blistered steel." The antiquity of the iron industry in India dates as far back as the times of the *Rig Veda*, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which contain numerous references to implements of husbandry and war. Chandragupta (320 B.C.) possessed sixty-four kinds ¹³ of weapons of warfare, which included a cart with rapidly rotating wheels capable of throwing stones, a huge machine to shoot arrows, a water machine to put out fire and mail armour to cover the whole human body as well as separate parts of it; and his Superintendents of the several Industrial Departments had a marvellous working knowledge of mines, minerals and metals, ¹⁴ the construction of gnomes, clocks, and astrolabes and the manufacture of glasswares ¹⁵. With such an advanced industrial development it is no wonder that the armed cruisers like the *baggala* and the *Arab dhow* possessed the extraordinary equipment expatiated upon by Mr. Edye.

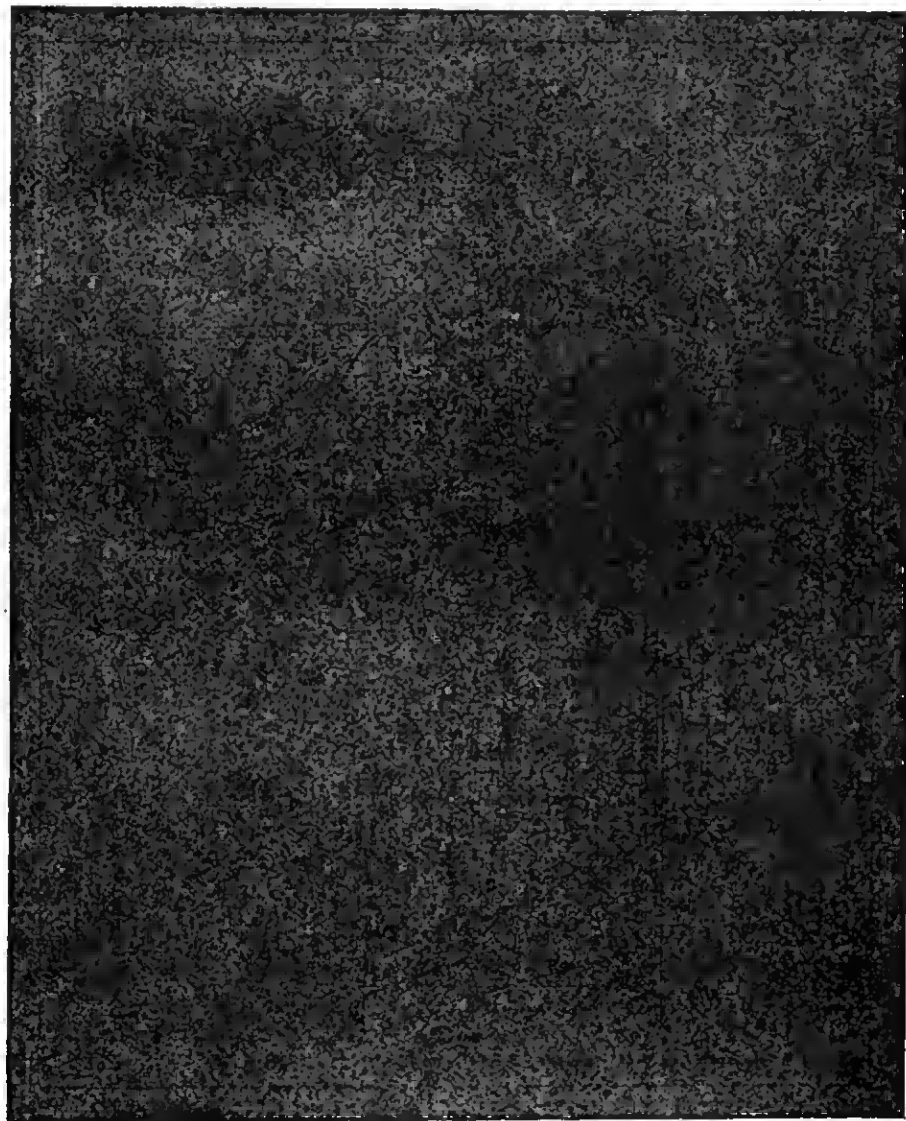
11 "Life in Ancient India," by Mrs. Spier pages 153-158.

12 In 1825, Mr. Heath of the Madras Civil Service formed a company aided by a Government advance to establish iron works at Port Novo near Cuddalore, at Palampatti near Salem, and at Beypur, where the iron was obtained from the laterite. The company, however, failed within a short time. ("A Memoir of Indian Surveys," by C. R. Markham, pages 223 and 224.)

13 They are enumerated by names in Chap. XVIII. of the *Kautilya Arthashastra*, translated by R. Shamastri, pages 123-127.

14 Pages. 94-110. *Ibid.*

15 *Sukraniti*, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Pages 148 and 150.



BAGGALA, OR BUDGEROW.



ARAB DOW.

The captains¹⁶ (*Sasaka*), steersmen (*Niyamaka*) and lascars or servants employed in these vessels were also excellent mariners possessed of an accurate knowledge of the reading of the signs of stars, the movement of the tides, the force of the currents, the change of the monsoons, the approach of the storms and the safety of the routes at sea. Dr. Vincent says:—"17 It has been sufficiently proved that a communication was open between India and Arabia previous to the age of Alexander; and it is impossible to conceive that those who lived either in India or Arabia should not have observed the regular change of seasons and of winds which recurred every year, and of which, if they were mariners, they could not fail to have taken advantage in every voyage they performed. It is likewise certain that vessels frequenting either coast would accidentally be caught by either monsoon and driven across the open sea to the opposite shore if they happened to be a few days too early or too late in the season for the voyage in which they were engaged. That this had happened and that there was a direct passage by the monsoons in use between the opposite continents (Africa and India) before the Greeks adopted it has already been noticed from the *Periplus* and fully proved." Nearchos, however, did not venture out into the open sea to reach India but adhered to the coasts of Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan along the windings of the innumerable gulfs and bays. The discovery of a direct route from Kane on the Arabian side cut across the open sea to India is ascribed by the Greeks to one of their pilots, Hippalus, who visited India long after Nearchos, but Dr. Vincent ridicules this idea and points out that, if Hippalus had frequented these seas as a pilot or a merchant, he should have met with some Indian and African traders who made their voyages between Egypt and India in a more compendious manner than the Greeks even before Alexander's time.

For a considerably long period, however, these armed cruisers were constructed only in small numbers and were used almost exclusively for the protection of merchant ships from the attacks of pirates; and so long as India did not carry on aggressive trade with foreign countries or *vice versa*, there was no need for a navy, properly so called. The need for an organized navy on a large scale was felt only when the early European trading companies began to adopt a militant policy in regard to commerce in India. The earliest Portuguese traders, wanted to gain a forcible entry into India and to settle down permanently here; and with this object in view they bombarded the seaport towns on the West Coast with their strongly built and fully equipped fleets of war vessels brought from Europe. Their unprovoked attacks gave a rude shock to the Hindu and Muhammadan Kings on the West Coast who,

¹⁶ Kautilya, page 157.

¹⁷ Dr. Vincent's "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," Book IV, pages 468 and 469.

torn and separated as they were by internal factions and rivalries, rose up to the occasion; and with an alacrity which was as commendable as it was surprising, they built up large navies and engaged the Portuguese in several naval battles off the West Coast. The Zamorin of Calicut¹⁸ maintained a formidable navy, more formidable than that of the Portuguese, consisting of eighty vessels of war with 380 guns and 4,000 men, besides many fireships, or "floating castles", constructed on two boats fitted together, which, after being rowed into the midst of the enemy, were ignited and abandoned. Such a fleet gave battle to Alfonso de Albuquerque in 1503 A.D., and to Don Lorenzo Almedia in 1507 A.D., near the coast of Chaul, using grenades and shells in both the actions, and in the last encounter Almedia was killed with the loss of his ship and 140 men. In 1507 A.D., Muhammed Shah I, King of Guzarat, sent out a strong fleet of vessels manned by gunners, musketeers and archers under the command of his Admiral, Mallick Giaz, who defeated the Portuguese flag-ship whose cost was estimated at a crore of rupees. Exasperated by this opposition, the Portuguese made preparations on a much larger scale for attacking Diu and collected a fleet in the Bombay Harbour consisting of "four-hundred sail of vessels of all descriptions, including transports to contain 3,600 European soldiers, 1,400 European sailors, 2,000 Native Malabars and Canaras, and 8,000 Cafry soldiers, besides 5,000 Indian Brahmins, making 6,400 sailors and 13,000 land troops, in all 20,200 men." Never before in the annals of India had such a huge European armada ever gathered together in the Indian waters and never did the indigenous navy of India display its prowess and valour to a degree which elicited admiration even from the enemies. The Muhammadans under Mustafa Khan Roomy inflicted a severe rout on this Portuguese armada, and compelled them to return to Portugal with the scattered remnants of their strongly built fleets. Faria de Souza, the Portuguese historian, while deploring the loss sustained by his countrymen, has paid a lasting tribute to the pluck, bravery and skill displayed by the Indians in all their naval encounters with the Portuguese. Indeed, the navy of India could have produced many a Nelson or a Colonel Drake, had not the foundations of the internal governments here been weakened by rancorous animosities and internecine wars amongst the numerous heterogeneous principalities which perished and grew up with the varying fortunes of adventurers and syeophants before the advent of the British Government. The last vestiges of it, however, survived till the end of the eighteenth century, when Tippoo Sultan built a frigate and fitted out a fleet of warships, at Onore, with which he undertook an expedition to the Maldives and added to his title "The Lord of Thousand Islands".

¹⁸ These and the following facts are taken from Col. Briggs' "Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India."

Even now there are immense possibilities of reviving the ship-building industry and of establishing naval yards under the auspices of our benign British Government, especially on the West Coast of India. The Western Ghats can afford a perennial supply of *Dip wood* or *Cherne maram* suitable for the purpose, and the Tata Iron and Steel Foundries can manufacture or import all the accessories required for it. The crew can be mobilized from the fisherman caste or from the sea-faring population of the maritime districts, while the English Naval Colleges can furnish any number of officers required to man the navy. If a ship-yard and a navy base can be established in a suitable locality under expert advice and sound management, either directly by Government or by private agencies under Government control and supervision, we need not have to apply to Japan for help to protect our shores and our commerce in the eastern waters against the attacks of the German warships and submarines.

REVIEWS

The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

(Vol. V. From April to October 1748.)

THE present volume deals with matters of greater general interest, leaving aside the undiminished continuance of the diarist's wrangles with Madame Dupleix. She reserved Madras entirely for the exercise of her power, and even in the other sphere often proved a thorn in the side of the indefatigable Dubash. Affairs of greater moment arrest our attention however. Mons. Bouvet arrived with a French squadron on the coast on June 1748. He succeeded by a ruse in drawing the English fleet stationed before Cuddalore under Admiral Griffin to the leeward of Pondicherry, and this gave an occasion to the long-expectant Dupleix to attack Cuddalore. Ranga Pillai was not consulted in this expedition, and so one can well understand the ill-concealed delight of the Dubash at the ignominious defeat of the French led on by Mainville. Cowardice was at the bottom of it, as good luck rather than skill or valour was at the bottom of the success of the defence put up by the English under Lawrence. This slight success of the English was followed, however, shortly after by a bitter reverse when Boscawen, who had arrived on the Coast towards the end of July, proceeded to besiege Pondicherry with a force consisting of 2,400 British Infantry, 1,000 seamen and 150 artillery men. Insufficient as these forces were, as the sequel proved, to accomplish the fall of Pondicherry, Boscawen's failure would not have been so utter, had his troops taken up in the beginning a better position than the one they did to the north-west of the town, where the trenches could not be cleared of water, and the distance to be traversed in bringing up provisions from the ships was considerable. Ranga Pillai's comment, that God must have put it into their minds to take up such a position, clearly shows the grave error Boscawen fell into. Mr. Pillai's description of the English shells, which fell into Pondicherry during the siege, makes curious reading as Mr. Dodwell observes. He compares their rise into the air to the climbing of a ladder by a man, and their slow flight, to a fat man making his way through a crowd.

The rest of the diary is occupied with an account of the intrigues ceaselessly carried on between the French on one side, and Chanda Sahib, Imam Sahib and Anwar-ud-din of Arcot on the other. Neither Dupleix nor his trusted Dubash shine in very good light in these intrigues, though one sees in the course of these fencings, how the idea gradually seized hold of the imagination of Dupleix, that with

men and princes of this contemptible kind, nothing was impossible to a bold, adventurous European with a few hundreds of well-trained men at his back.

We leave the diarist here, merely remarking that Mr. Dodwell's editing of this and the previous volume enables one to get a clearer and more critical understanding of the events of the times, both through the masterly introduction and through the numerous, brief and pointed footnotes.

K. R.

The Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1913-14

PART II.

EDITED BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL,
Director-General of Archaeology in India.

THE report, which is, as usual, well illustrated, contains thirteen papers, four of which give accounts of the excavation operations carried out at Sanchi in Bhopal by the Director-General, at Avantipura in Kashmir, by Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, at Basari in Bihar by Dr. Spooner, and at Besnagar in Gwalior by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The papers give interesting details of the operations and of the various antiquities found, but do not chronicle anything of outstanding importance. A point of some interest is the fact that among the finds at Besnagar are two pieces of what, on examination, have been found to be steel. The date of these pieces is c. 106 B.C.

There are two papers on Indian coins. In one Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar gives an account of the hoard of Kshatrapa coins found at Sarvāṇṇī in Rajputana. The hoard is important, as some of the coins contained therein give new dates for some of the Kshatrapas and Malāḥkshatrapas. The other paper is by Mr. R. D. Bannerji, and brings to notice a number of new coins.

The most interesting paper in the report is that of Mr. Duroiselle on the stone sculptures in the Ananda temple at Pagan. This temple was built in A.D. 1090, and is unique in Burma for its wealth of terra-cotta bas-reliefs and stone sculptures. The bas-reliefs are more than 1,400 in number and illustrate the events related in the Jātakas, while the stone sculptures which are eighty in number represent the events of the life of Gautama the Buddha before he attained enlightenment. Mr. Duroiselle's paper deals with these latter sculptures one by one and recounts the events of Gautama's life which each sculpture represents. The sculptures are important as furnishing specimens of Burmese art in A.D. 1090.

Of the other papers, two by Mr. Coggin Brown are concerned with a prehistoric copper celt and a prehistoric copper axe that have been recently found; one

by Mr. R. D. Bannerji is devoted to some sculptures found at Kosām (ancient Kauśāmbī); one by Mr. V. H. Jackson contains some notes on old Rājagṛiha, and one by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri contains such information about the early Chōlas as he has been able to gather from literary sources. The last paper by Pandit Natesa Iyer deals with a Trimūrti image of about the third century A.D., now in the Peshawar Museum.

A. V.

Hampi Ruins.*

THE general apathy of the educated Indian towards a knowledge of his country's past was a matter of public scorn till not long ago. And though the national awakening of recent days has led to some increased interest in India's past, the general level of knowledge among educated Indians regarding Indian antiquities is still deplorably low. Whatever excuse the average citizen had for such apathy is now fast disappearing with the publication of monographs like the one before us.

The book is profusely illustrated and to good purpose. In the words of the author, "the object is not only to give a clear and brief description of the various styles of buildings produced during the Vijayanagar period, but also to consider their influences which have contributed to the formation of each special style." The book is accordingly divided into two parts. Part I. gives a brief account of the geographical features of the locality, of Vijayanagar history from the inscriptions, and of the social and political information furnished by foreign visitors to the Vijayanagar Court. A short analysis of the remains according to religion and social customs is also included in it.

In Part II, brief, vivid and interesting descriptions are given of the buildings extant, omitting technical details. We agree with the author that it is a mistake to isolate architecture from its surroundings. As observed by M. G. Jouveau Dubreuil, "architectural species adapt themselves to materials, to societies and to climates"; and a study of the latter is necessary to appreciate the former rightly. The book, though it does not purport to give any original or technical information, is a very useful one, and its arrangement and style are well calculated to arouse interest in the most casual reader.

The history of the Vijayanagar Empire is a chapter of unique fascination in Indian History, illustrating the solitary instance of successful Hindu consolidation for arresting Muhammadan invasion, and the volume relating to it has rightly been selected first for publication. We hope that similar monographs on popular lines will soon be published about other antiquities in South India.

A.V.R.

* By A. H. Longhurst. Superintendent. Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras Government Press: Price Rs. 3.

Dravidian Architecture.*

THIS is a short study of but 47 pages on the "Evolution of Dravidian Architecture", but is replete with interesting information. The author maintains that, "the Dravidian art presents a very interesting and very rare picture of an architecture which remained isolated for more than thirteen centuries, which borrowed nothing from foreign arts but which varied continually by the path of natural evolution, in such a way that one could follow its modifications from one century to another." This evolution took place not so much in the methods of construction as in the details of the sculpture, and the history of South Indian architecture reduces itself to the history of ornamentation.

The study commences with the description of ornamental details in the modern style and the definition of the terms employed. The next chapter compares the modern style with the earliest monuments extant (Pallava style) and notes the changes developed. The next and last chapter traces the gradual evolution of the changes in the intermediate styles of early Chola, later Chola and Vijianagar.

The evolution is principally marked in the following: The parts of an edifice (1) corbel (*bodigai*); (2) the part of the capital supporting the abacus, called *idal* in Tamil; (3) the ornamentation known as *Nagabandham* on pillars; (4) the *Kulu* an ornamentation used for the larmier (*kabodani*); (5) the niche (*goshta*); (6) *Kumbhapanjarani*; and (7) the pavilion. As a result of the study, the author concludes that the Pallava architecture does not differ essentially from modern architecture, and that the differences are only in details of ornamentation, that the Pallava architecture is derived directly from the art of the carpenter, that the temples of the Pallavas are only the copy in stone of the house built of wood, and that from the very beginning Dravidian art is a purely indigenous one.

The subject is one of great interest and is dealt with in a scientific manner. The book affords an excellent example of what patient study and research can achieve in fields that appear at first sight most obscure and unpromising. We commend it to all interested in Indian architecture and antiquities and congratulate the learned author and his editor on having brought out such an eminently useful and interesting manual.

A. V. R.

* By G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Professor, the College, Pondicherry.

Speeches by Sir M. Visvesaraya, K.C.I.E

Dewan of Mysore
1910-11 to 1916-17

By the kind courtesy of Sir M. Visvesaraya, Dewan of Mysore, we have received a copy of the public speeches delivered by him in Bangalore and Mysore, 1910-17. They have been published by direction of His Highness the Maharaja. Most of them bear on economic and educational subjects and are a record of the strenuous activities of the "Model State" of India during the last seven years. The future historian of Mysore will find in them material for a brilliant chapter. The members of the Mythic Society will feel honoured to see among those speeches the one delivered by Sir M. Visvesaraya at the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Society on the 7th August 1916, as it reveals a new side of the Dewan's versatile personality and shows us Sir M. Visvesaraya as much at home when discoursing about archæology, history and philosophy as when addressing large audiences on questions relating to educational and agricultural developments or to industrial and commercial progress.

Without flattery—none is needed in this case, truth can speak for itself—we can say of these speeches that they are the speeches of a statesman who has something to say and knows how to say it.

All the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja will be grateful to the Ruler of Mysore for having seen to that the public utterances of his talented Dewan are preserved in a form compact and handy for reference.

A. M. T.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for June, 1917

THE June number of this Journal contains three valuable leading articles besides some interesting miscellaneous contributions. By far the most important article—Textile Industry in Ancient India—comes from the pen of Raj Bahadur Professor Jogesh Clander Ray, M.A. There is no need to emphasise the amount of confusion that exists with regard to the raw materials used in textile industry in ancient times. The learned writer has to a great extent succeeded in removing all doubts. The raw materials used in textile trades were obtained from three distinct sources—vegetables, animal kingdom, and minerals. At the outset we have to note that linen-weaving was the most important industry of the land from the earliest times down to the sixteenth century A.D. This industry must have dwindled into insignificance when the European foreigners on their arrival here began to supply sufficient stimulus to the development of the jute and cotton trades. Of the many

plants yielding bark-fibres only three stand in the forefront, viz., flax, *sana* and *canabis*. Coming to the seed fibres one cannot fail to be struck with the fact that cotton then had none of that prominence which it has attained since then, though it was not absolutely unknown. Of the raw materials of the second main group, the skins and the woollen textiles were largely in use among the Vedic Aryans. The wild silks of the earlier days appeared to have been derived from three species of the worm not domesticated. It is probable that the finer varieties of silk must have been imported into the country at a later date, possibly from China. Lastly, robes embroidered with gold must have been used by persons of rank on rare occasions. The arts of spinning, weaving, washing, and dyeing were recognised industries in ancient India.

Khan Sahib Abdul Muqtadir is to be thanked for his efforts to bring to the notice of the public the real importance of the rare manuscripts found in the Patna Library. This must be the Chingiz Nāmah referred to by Abdul Fa2l. The manuscripts appear to have been specially prepared for Akbar, and contain many paintings signed by the chief painters of the time, and Shah Jahan prized these for their literary and artistic excellence. It is a pity that the text is anything but complete. Incidentally we have also to note that Akbar is the founder of the Moghul school of painting. It was at his instigation that the court artists broke through the old traditions of painting and began to study Nature and to draw portraits direct from life.

The limited space at our disposal will not allow us to notice in detail the articles bearing on folklore and epigraphy. We cannot but make an allusion to the thoughtful paper of Mr. Jayaswal on the 'Chronological Totals of the Puranas and of the Kaliyuga Era'. He holds that the dates 1388 B.C. and 498 A.D. are sufficiently definite and are borne out by astronomical and other data. The former year saw the death of Krishna, the abdication of Yudhisthira and the coronation of Parikshit. The Puranas do not go beyond the year 498 A.D. which falls within the second Hun period and about the disruption of the Gupta Power. We doubt whether the time is come to say the last word on this point.

H. K. R.

Archæological Survey of India

NEW IMPERIAL SERIES, VOL. X.

SOUTH INDIAN Inscriptions, Vol. II. Part V., of the Archæological Survey of India 1917, mentions two Pallava copperplates called Velurpalayam Plates discovered in 1911, and bearing an inscription engraved partly in Grantha and partly in Tamil characters. With their aid Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry confirms the suggestion of Mr. Venkayya that Kanchi was not the Pallava capital for some time during the interval between the Prakrit period and later Sanskrit period, and points out the difficulties in the way of accepting the latter's suggestion

to connect the names of kings in Bahur Plates (discovered at Pondicherry by J. de la Fon) with those of Veluralayam Plates. The plate itself contains a charter of grant of the village of Srikattuppalli to a temple built at Velurpalayam by a certain Yagna Bhatta.

To the adjoining postscript is given the text of the inscription in the plates of Vijaya Nripa Tungavarman of Bahur. It is clear from it that a college consisting of fourteen *ganas* (i.e., Vedas Vangas, etc.) was being controlled by the learned men of Bahur, and that three villages were given in donation to that college by a member of the Basali family of the Kuru race.

Tandanthottam Plates of Vijaya Nandi Vikramavarman (fourteen in number) inscribed partly in Grantha and partly in Tamil mention the grant of a village called *Dayanukha*, to 308 Brahmins, all of them learned in Vedas. From the plates it appears that there was a large colony of Telugu Brahmins in the heart of Chola country as early as the first half of the ninth century A.D. and even earlier.

One common feature of great interest in all the above grants is the long list of exemptions which includes items of collection, whose significance is not clear. For instance, it is said that the donors can build mansions of burnt brick, grow red lilies and *ulli* in the gardeos, plant cocoanuts in grooves, etc., etc. without being taxed or specially permitted by the State, but can enjoy the income from taxes on marriage, potters, toddy-drawers, etc. etc.

The next item of great interest is the life and reign of Raja Raja I. (eleventh century) as gathered from the Tamil inscriptions in the Raja Rajeswara Temple at Tanjavur. The author has given as complete an account as possible starting from the childhood of Raja Raja, of his accession to the throne, of his naval successes in Kandalur in Chera country, his conquest of West Coast, Coorg, and a part of Mysore, and the grant of his booty to the temple of Raja Rajeswara in Tanjore. The chief features of his reign seem to be carrying out an elaborate revenue survey of his kingdom, formation of thirty-one regiments in the names of several members of his family in recognition of the services of his soldiers, recording his military achievement in every one of his inscriptions in stones, endowing full grants to the Raja Rajeswara Temple, showing tolerance towards other religions as seen from his allowing a Buddhist temple at Negapatam, and giving a village to it, and last but not least the creating of village Sabhas or corporations having civil and magisterial powers to look after the internal affairs of the village and manage its temples and public charities. The whole account is very entertaining from beginning to end and deserves a careful perusal on account of its importance to the history of the Chola Empire.

C. K.

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. II, Part IV April 1917

THE chief article of interest is Sir Robert Chalmers' "Great Dreams from the Jataka Tales, in which Lord Buddha, the spotless master Brahmin, expounds the import of

the sixteen dreams of the King of Kosala and dissuades him from performing any animal sacrifice. The article is full of religious and moral advice. Next in interest comes Rev. Perara's article on Jesuits in Ceylon in continuation of the previous ones. It mentions the misfortunes of the Jesuit Fathers after the Nicapety's revolt and describes how the College at Colombo founded by Azevedo and endowed with revenue by Don Juan Dharmapala escaped its threatened destruction by the timely intervention of Duke of Villahermosa, how Father Pedro became a captive of the King of Kandy, and what a serious loss was caused to the Mission by a storm which levelled all its buildings down to the ground. Other articles of interest are, Folklore of Animals among the Sinhalese and Tamils, by T. P. Lewis, etc. 'Customs and Ceremonies in the Jaffna District' is very interesting, especially since they all resemble to a great extent those prevailing in South India at the present day.

C. K.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May 1917

THE first number of Vol XIII, 1917, commences with a very entertaining article from the pen of Mr. B. A. Gupte on 'The Folklore in Caste Proverbs' in which proverbs prevailing in different parts of a country are all grouped according to castes showing side by side their local peculiarities and shades of evolution. After perusing the whole article, one is impressed that the author has taken considerable pains not only to collect the proverbs and sort them, but also to put the case of one or two castes that he probably like does not in as awkward, a manner as possible. If, as the author says, 'proverbs record the experience of ages, and if the proverbs mentioned in the article are the only proverbs that can be collected at the present day, then one must necessarily conclude that there is no greater cheat than a Baniya and no greater rogue than a Brahmin. We wonder whether the article will serve any purpose in the cause of Folklore study. Sarat Chandra Mitra's articles on 'Some Indian Ceremonies for Disease Transference,' and North Indian Agricultural Ceremonies are both very instructive. Mr. Phelps' article on 'The Habits of *Cyrtophora Citricola*,' (a common spider of Calcutta) is a fine piece of Nature study. Whereas Fahre denies any sense of property in spiders, Phelps asserts that it is very marked among them and gives a few examples in support of his theory. The rest of the Journal contains notes on 'Numismatics,' the most scholarly and instructive portion being the discussion on the value of Murādi Tankā, by S. H. Hodivala of Junagadh.

C. K.

Speeches and Writings of T. K. Krishna Menon

MR. T. K. KRISHNA MENON is a flourishing Vakil of Malabar and a member of a number of learned societies. His writings relate to a variety of subjects and have been of some considerable interest to those who know Mr. Menon well. In our

opinion there was no hurry for him to publish them quite so soon, and he could have waited for some time more to add still further to his activities. All the same it is gratifying to note that even in the present form they are not devoid of interest to the general reader.

K. D.

The yet remembered Ruler of a long forgotten Empire Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar

WE acknowledge with thanks from Professor Krishnaswamiengar a reprint of his two contributions on the subject from the *Hindustan Review* for May, June and July, 1917. The materials which have already been worked up by a number of enthusiastic students of history have been brought under a shape and form for the first time. The collection of many details scattered over a large area must have been the result of a number of hours given to this arduous work. Where originality is not much in evidence, industry is. Carlyle's definition of a genius applies very eminently to Mr. Krishnaswamiengar for his infinite capacity to take pains.

K. D.

The Psychology of Music

BY MR. H. P. KRISHNA RAO, B.A.

WE owe a word of apology to the author of this interesting but erudite publication that we were not in a position to notice it in the *Journal* earlier. The book is the outcome of a series of lectures delivered by Mr. Krishna Rao before the All-India Music Conference held at Baroda on the 20th March 1916, under the patronage of H. H. the Gaekwar. Mr. Krishna Rao's method is as novel as it is painfully scientific. Music to be explained as a language of emotions requires, as the author himself wisely admits, the eloquence of Burke and the logic of Bain. Is it not too much under these limitations to expect a general reader to profit by the book which bristles with psychological and scientific terms? Anyhow we admire the sincerity of the author who has been a devoted exponent of this science for the past many years. Mr. Krishna Rao should have known, in his experience, how, even vocal music that should appeal to all, has failed of its purpose when sung in a scientific fashion, and much less would be the interest taken in the subject if readers are directed to become devotees of this crown of pleasing arts by wading through the pages of a scientific publication.

K. D.

Indian Architecture, Parts II and III

WE are afraid the venture is a labour of love, for the delay in publication can only be explained by the difficulties monetary and other experienced by the compiler and the editor. The wonder is with all these worries quite incidental to Indian publications that they have managed to keep the thing going and have been so far strenuous in their aim to carry out the undertaking to a finish. The chapter dealing on 'Architectonics' is as full as it is learned and at the same time interesting. The Srirangam temple is taken to illustrate the Dravidian style. We do not quite appreciate the bringing in at the initial stage of the treatment of modern architecture. Chapter III. treats of the *Īstu* or Building Sites. All the works, ancient and recent, are laid under contribution, and the chapter contains a marvellous wealth of material. A typical Saiva Vempe—that of Jambukēśvaram—is taken for consideration to illustrate the Dravidian style. The plates are perfect and the drawings are neatly done. We wish our wealthy princes and zamindars and well-to-do libraries to come forward to encourage this deserving publication and make the undertaking a success.

K. D.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

April and July 1917.

WE have received with pleasure the above two numbers. The April number opens with the first of a series of articles from the scholarly pen of Mr. J. Kennedy, who writes on the subject of 'The Gospels of Infancy,' the Lalita Vitsara and Vishnupūrāna, or the transmission of religious legends between India and the West'. By way of introduction he compares Christianity with Hinduism and Buddhism, and incidentally remarks that, according to Sir G. Grierson, Ramanuja was influenced by Christianity. This statement is unconvincing and, as a matter of fact, it has been refuted more than once. (*Vide Sri Vaishnavism and its Caste Marks*, by Mr. K. Devanathachar in the Mythic Society Journal, Vol. VI. No. 1.)

Religious legends of the East and of the West have very many points in common between them. The question is, which is the original source, how and when was it borrowed. In the year 1914, Professor Garbe published a book entitled, *Indien und das Christentum*, in which he reviewed the Hindu cult, the worship of the child Krishna, 'which has been supposed to own not only some of its legends but its entire conception to Christian influences'. The Professor's method of investigation is unsatisfactory, and Mr. J. Kennedy rightly rejects it on the score of the proverbial uncertainty attaching to all Indian literary chronology, and the difficulty arising from the personal equation.

The writer points out that the tales were borrowed direct and that they form part of the intellectual *commerce* which went on for centuries between India and the West. The "Lalita Vitsara" and "Vishnu Purana" show a whole series of stories in common with the "Gospels of Infancy." Here a special test should be applied and that is 'if we can find in any of these stories doctrinal matter peculiar to one of the three religions and foreign to the other two, it will be decisive of the question of origin'.

Buddhism and Christianity first met in fruitful contact C. A.D. 100. The truth of this proposition is established by an elaborate survey of the question, and the writer concludes that the knowledge of the Indian religions which reached the West, before the birth of Christ, was too superficial and too slight to make any impression, 'while the tales were freaks of Nature, of monsters, and of marvels'. After an examination of the evidences available, the conclusion arrived at is that the real meeting ground of the Christians and Indians was in Babylonia and in the group of countries north and west of the Indus. Hence the one must have influenced, or have been influenced, by the other.

Another article of equal interest is from the pen of Mr. Raklaldas Banerji, M.A., who writes on 'Nahapana and the Saka Era'. He examines the various authorities on the subject and comes to the conclusion that the true date for the beginning of Nahapana's reign ought to be placed in the end of the last century B.C., or the beginning of the first century A.D. He further adds that the suggestion that Nahapana founded the Saka Era need not be seriously considered, as there is not a single instance of a provincial governor founding a separate era in the history of Ancient India.

Dr. Giuseppe Furlan writes on 'a cosmological tract, by Pseudo-Dionysius in the Syriac language.' He assigns it to the eighth century. It is an anti-astrological and anti-magical tract, as it undertakes to demonstrate that divination by means of stars, etc., is not to be relied upon, and is contradictory to the facts that daily observation affords us. It is important because it is the first Syriac tract which bears a very strict connexion with the apocryphal book of Enoch. The writer gives a translation of it and points out the discrepancies existing between the tract and the book of Enoch.

There are two short notes on Javanese archæology, by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, besides miscellaneous communications which contain a variety of topics.

In the July number which is of unusual interest not the least interesting is the article entitled 'The Act of Truth,' by Professor Burlingame of Baltimore, giving an account of the Hindu spell *Satyakriya* and its employment as a psychic *motif* in the Hindu fiction. 'The Act of truth' is 'a formal declaration of fact accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished.' It may refer to good qualities or works as well as their opposites. There is nothing that cannot be accomplished by truth. Men, gods, powers of Nature, all animate and inanimate things alike, obey the truth. The 'Act of Truth' has long been in practice in East and West, and the author's belief, 'that the fundamental

concept underlying it is not peculiar to Buddhists or Hindus, but is and always has been the common possession of all the races of mankind ' lends support to it. But there is no doubt that the clue to this science has been lost, and it is to be earnestly hoped that the article under review will give an impetus to further study on the subject. The writer regards *Satyakriya* as a stock in trade by which men play, one after another, the wizard, the conjurer, magician, rain-maker, prophet, etc. He gives a number of examples, the most interesting being ' To cause a river to flow backwards,' and ' To cross a river on dry foot.' There is no doubt that these stories form ' a striking and significant expression in symbolic terms of the deep-seated conviction of all men every where that the truth is of supreme importance and of irresistible power.' The article, on the whole, is a very interesting and refreshing one, and we commend it for the perusal of our readers.

Mr. J. Kennedy continues his article on the ' Gospel of Infancy ', touching upon many interesting topics, such as Kushan Missionary enterprise; Elkesai, one of the founders of Ebionitism, and the propagation of Mahayanist Buddhism in the Euphrates Valley. He conclusively proves the existence of early intercourse between the East and the West as gathered from the Greek and Roman authors of the first three centuries of the Christian era.

The next article of importance by Mr. Vincent Smith on the confusion between Hamida Bano Begum and Haji Begum prevailing among historians is of special value, as it throws additional light on the history of Humayun and Akbar, the closing paragraph practically proves ' that no reason exists for believing that any one of Akbar's numerous consorts was a Christian, or had the personal name of Mary '.

Lastly, Mr. Cowley's article, on Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions is as interesting as it is scholarly and reflects considerable energy and patience on the part of the writer.

C. B. S.

The Mythic Society

RULES.

1. The Society shall be called the Mythic Society.
2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—
 - (a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects, more particularly in Mysore and South India.
 - (b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.
3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-President, a General Secretary, an Editor, an Honorary Treasurer, a Librarian, Branch Secretaries, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.
4. Membership shall be of two kinds—
 - (a) Honorary.
 - (b) Ordinary.
5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons, who in the opinion of the Committee have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee, and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.
6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.
7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—
 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
 - (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of our Journal is issued, by sending the second number by V. P. P.

(ii)

Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bonâ-fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Any subscriber on payment of rupees three per annum will be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal of this Society.

8. The activities of the Society shall be as follows:—

- (a) There shall be as far as possible nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.
- (b) Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.
- (c) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session, but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous July, and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.
- (d) Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.
- (e) The Society shall encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-Room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-Room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee, and duly notified to those concerned.

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisition and obtaining order in each case.

12. The Annual General Meeting will be held as far as possible in July, when the reports and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members, and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of the Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being:

The President, the General Secretary, and the Treasurer.

A. V. RAMANATHAN,
Secretary.

The Mythic Society

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“LIFE IN THE HOYSALA PERIOD”

BY S. SRIKANTAIYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

I. Polity

THE king in Hoysala times was the supreme head of the State in all matters, religious and political. For administrative purposes the country was divided into eighteen divisions, at the head of each of which was a viceroy or governor. Generally, he was either the crown prince or a Hoysala feudatory owing fealty to the sovereign. At every accession of territory, consequent upon conquest, the subdued province was absorbed into the empire, otherwise undergoing little change. Sometimes the country was even handed back to its original owner, who thenceforth became a vassal of the Hoysala.

The king was associated in the government of the country with a Śarvādhikāri or prime minister, and on occasions the Yuvarāja or crown prince served on the council. There were, besides, four other ministers or Mahāmaṇḍalēsvarās and these five together constituted the Panchapradhānis and

were invariably hereditary nobles of rank and dignity. The prime minister was the responsible head of the council, of which the others were figure heads presiding over the departments of war and foreign affairs. The king retained to himself the seven *aṅgas* (attributes) of the kingdom, i.e., he was the king, minister, ally, territory, fortress, treasury and army. Among the secretariat officers was a chief secretary to whom the king's orders were transmitted by a Huzūr, or royal secretary, who communicated them to the revenue officers to be carried out. These latter then assembled the revenue accountants, who made entries in their revenue registers according to their orders.

The viceroys or governors were called Dandanīyakās exercising the functions of Sēnādhīpathis in newly acquired provinces, and under their control were *Sāmantas* or provincial satraps, and next in rank to these military governors came Hēggadēs, who administered smaller territorial divisions. Last of all came the Gavula as the responsible head and spokesman of the agricultural classes, while the Pattaṇasvāmi, or town mayor, represented the mercantile community in a town or city.

The priestcraft played no unimportant part in the administration of the empire. While a Jain ascetic put the Hoysaḷas in possession of power, the policy of Viṣṇu was radically affected by his conversion. The department of public instruction was entirely in their hands, and they also controlled the village community.

Assessment

As regards assessment, Saḷa is said to have collected from the villagers one *fanam* (4 annas 8 pies) for every *kandy* of grain raised by them. From the reign of Viṣṇu Vardhana, each cultivator paid one *kula* or ploughshare to the king. It is supposed to have been thrown into a well and turned into gold. Probably a *kula* was a pole, eighteen lengths of a rod, it is said, and was the measure of a piece of land, forming the standard for all assessment. Under Vijayanagar kings a pagoda had to be paid for every ploughshare by way of assessment. One-fifth of the produce of the forest tracts and of lands on which dry crops were raised, and a third of the produce of lands below a tank on which paddy was grown, was levied. The measurement and assessment of lands were of the greatest importance to the revenue department which fixed the value of the several provinces as under:—

Kuntala and Rattavādi...	7½ lakhs.	Punnād ...	6,000
Gaṅgavādi ...	96,000	Santalige ...	1,000
Noḷambavādi ...	32,000	Hānnugal ...	500
Toṇḍanād ...	48,000	Belvoḷa ...	300
Koṅgalnād ...	8,000	Hellāve ...	70
		Yelṣavira ...	7,000

These figures should be differently understood from what is referred to, for example, in saying that Virā-Ballāḷa ruled over the $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakh country, unless the latter only suggests that he had subdued the Kuntala kingdom and nothing more. Otherwise, the $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakh might point, as Mr. Rice would have it, to the money value of the empire. According to Mr. Rice, the figures indicate the *nishka* or *gadyana* or pagoda value of the province, but Mr. Narasinhachar contradicts Mr. Rice with the authority of a Shikārpūr inscription of 902 A.D., and says that they represent the total of the villages comprised in them. Kullōtunga Chōla in A.D. 1071 or 1072 excused the taxes on cows and she-buffaloes and fixed (i) a third of the produce of the lands below a tank on which paddy was grown as the government share; and (ii) 2 *kasus* for each plough on account of taxes known as *antardya*. The land was measured with a rod of sixteen spans, and some concessions were allowed to the *Kār* crops. Thus the tariff on land underwent no change with the mutation of rulers. A series of imposts was levied on land and brings to our recollection the taxes that Englishmen had to pay in Norman times. Whether the lands were occupied by houses or cultivated, they bore the following taxes:— (1) land rent, (2) plough tax, (3) house tax, (4) forced labour, (5) accountant's fee, (6) provender, (7) unexpected visitor, (8) army, (9) double payment, (10) change of district, (11) threshing floor, (12) tribute, (13) coming of age, (14) festivity, (15) subscription, (16) boundary marks, (17) birth of a son, (18) fodder for elephants, (19) for horses, (20) sale within the village, (21) favour of the palace, (22) alarm, (23) seizure, (24) destruction or injustice caused by the *Nāḍ* or magistrate, and (25) whatever else may come.

'Hodake'

There were other imposts as well. Some of them will be dealt with elsewhere, a few only being mentioned here. A particular kind of fine was called *Hodake*, by means of which a person could purchase a village for a public purpose on payment of a certain sum of money, both transactions being entered in the eighteen registers of the king, who also granted the purchaser a *sāsana*. According to long usage there was to be no *aputrika* in the community. The property of the childless people did not pass to others. We get a glimpse of some other taxes from a grant of Vinayāditya II. to Rishihalli, which were the following:—House tax, marriage tax, *ur-uttige*, *taude*, *surandu*, *kavarte*, *sēse*, *osage*, *manakere*, *kūta*, *kakauli*, soldier's tax (*hira rana*), hammer tax (*kodali rana*), scissor's tax (*kattari rana*), anvil tax (*adekale rana*), *hadavaleya*, *haliyarāya*, potter's tax (*kumbār vittī*) and blacksmith's tax (*kāmmār vittī*). A few of the objectionable imposts were remitted by Ballāḷa III in A.D. 1301. Tribute, present, the tax on looms, the tax on goldsmiths, and tolls, hitherto paid in the gifts to the

temples, etc., viz., *dēva-dānam*, *tiruvidaiyattam*, *madappuram* and *pallich-chandam* were removed. He further remitted, in 1311, some taxes amounting to 230 *gadyanas* payable to the palace by the Mahājanās of a Dēvadāya village, Kuñchiya.

Customs

A chief customs officer under the direct control of the prime minister was assisted in his duties by an agent. The customs duties were levied on wholesale articles and on retail ones. They were *perjunks* in the former and *kirkulās* in the latter case. An elaborate form known as *Vaddaravula* was adopted for levying it, and there were forty-two *thanas* to discriminate which should be levied, and which should be allowed free. Agreements were sometimes entered into to pay certain dues on specified articles of merchandise, and sometimes they were made over to the people in lieu of work done or undertaken, like the grant of the taxes and customs of the Nād by Ballāla III. to Harihara Bhaṭṭopādyaḥya for carrying out the annual repairs of the Harihara temple which the Brahmans effected by monthly rotation.

Public Works

The department of the greatest activity in the period was that of public works. It was next in importance to the department of war. Most influential and important ministers held this portfolio. Erection of dams to rivers, opening of channels for irrigation, and construction of tanks and wells were well known. A Hoysala general Chokkinayya restored the Bēthamangala tank on the Pālār river, which had been constructed by Armativalla. Kereya Padmarasa constructed the famous tank in Bēlūr called Vishṇusamudra. Private enterprise in this direction and in temple building was very much encouraged by munificent grants by the kings for their maintenance. Madigadēva Daṇṭiyaka was allowed to purchase four villages to build a tank. Some lands were granted to Bammōja, son of Polōja, of Kikkéri, for building the Kikkéri temple. A certain Kētagavuda set up a linga and built a tank for the benefit of all people, and he was rewarded in return with the tax on marriage pandals. A gift of an estate was made to Perumala, near Bellūr, where he carried out some irrigation works. Grants of land and a place were bestowed on the proprietor of the large tank at Atakūr.

War

The army constituted an efficient fighting force. Bravery and military skill were duly rewarded as so many *virakals* and *mīstikals* strewn throughout the Hoysala country amply show. Instances of Bettadarasa under Ballāla II., and Chōlagavuda under Narasimha III., who conquered Kaduvatti, would suffice to prove that the conquering hero was not denied his share of public recognition and substantial reward.

Criminal Justice

The department of public justice was presided over by the king who, with the help of his five ministers, decided important disputes as a final court of appeal. It is said that it was only a rough and ready method of meting out justice that had been devised. Trial by ordeal governed several disputes. The *guru* arbitrated in a large number of cases. The earliest method of dispensing criminal justice is supposed to have consisted in the accused's swearing in the presence of the God with the consecrated food. If the accused was guilty, the food would choke him on his partaking of it. Another common practice was the ordeal of grasping a red-hot iron bar before the Hoysakésvāra. A third kind was that of plunging the hand into boiling ghee after taking the oath as before. When deaths occurred by drowning or hanging, and when widows became pregnant, the offences were supposed to be against the public and not against the sovereign; therefore the inquiries were conducted by the community. On the other hand, in cases of theft and adultery, where offences were against the individual, the State stepped in and the palace held the inquiry in the interests of the safety of the individual. Boundary disputes between adjoining villages were very common and always led to cattle raids and petty fights. Gradually they were being settled amicably. A boundary dispute having given rise to a fight between the inhabitants of Uppavalli and Indavāra, about 1190, in which several fought and fell, a meeting of the chief men of the nine Nādús was called. They examined the boundaries and decided as follows :—'Beyond certain limits (specified) the men of Uppavalli had no claim even to a foot of land, and as they had such a claim on the east side, the men of Indavara were to pay a fine for the deaths that occurred at Uppavalli.' A certain Manchayya wrote the inscription.

Petition of Right

The people had to petition the king for remission of taxes or redress of grievances, and they were duly attended to by the minister deputed for the purpose. Madigedéva Dāṇṇayaka settled certain disputes and remitted certain taxes, in 1310, on the petition of the Prajégavuda of Haradanahalli. It was not lawful to levy a tax on a Sarvamānya village, and if it was levied, the king, on the representation of the Mahājanās, directly interfered and was pleased to renew the grant (*vide* an inscription of 1288).

Civil Justice

A few references to civil litigation and justice may not be out of place. Documents were formed of portable stones capable of being carried like copper-plates. In such a one did Honnappa execute a sale-deed, in 1230, to another Jannappa. Documents executed by one to another were attested by witnesses. A grant, in 1210, by the citizens of Talakād to the Pattaṇasvāmi of Kaṇṇan-

dai, on payment in gold, as a Kudangai, of the tank at Bettahalli, together with lands below, was attested by witnesses as well as a grant of 1316, in which the gift had to be maintained. In an inscription of 1251, we have a regular law suit :—Dēvaṇṇa sold a house to Bandari Adiyama in 1251. Subsequently his sons Naganna and Sovanna, not knowing this, wanted to take possession of the site, whereupon the case went up to Narasimhadēvarasa, who told them that they were in justice bound to carry out the wishes of their father, and decided the case in favour of the other party. I shall next give you a case of partition. According to a record of 1245, a certain Sōma of the Bōhēs:ara temple died, and the Rājaguru Chandrahushapadēva, and the 120 Sthānikas of the capital Dōrasamudra, divided his lands among his wife, son-in-law and another. It was ordained that the violator of this arrangement should be looked upon as having disregarded the Rājaguru and the Samaya.

Custom of the Diamond 'Bayasanige'

Transfer of land to a sacred cause was generally made by washing the feet of the priest. This practice is not in vogue now. A practice similar to the production of the mace in the House of Lords is observed from an inscription of 1306 A.D: 'The Mahājānās of Hoysaṇa Nāḍu, Kongu Nāḍu and other eighteen districts, having placed the diamond *bayasanige* on the ground, assembled below the banian tree, at the northern gate of Hosaholalu and in their presenee, all the Mahājānās of Hosaholalu, the great minister Madigedēva's Senabova, Paduvanna's balamanusa (agent?) who was the officer of Hosaholalu, superintendent Kavanna and others made a grant of land to Sōmayya to provide offerings to Sōmanātha with the consent of the Mahājānās.'

Mines

There was a mining department with the superintendent of mines at its head. There were gold mines in Halēbid itself, and here and there dotted all over the country, which necessitated a separate department.

Local Self-Government

Great prominence was attached to municipal self-government. It is said—'the interior constitution and condition of each separate township remains unchanged; no revolutions affect it; no conquest reaches it.' The Indian village is compared with the Teutonic townships described by Sir Henry Maine. According to Major Wilks, "Every Indian village is and always appears to have been a separate community or republic; the Gauda or Patel is the judge and magistrate; the Karṇam or Shanbogh is the registrar; the Talāri and Tōti, watchmen of the village and of crops; Nīrgaṇṭi distributes water; Jois announces the seed time and harvest; smith gives the implements of husbandry and ruder-

dwelling of farmer; potter fabricates utensils; washerman, barber and goldsmith perform their well known avocations. These get allotments of land from the corporate stock or in fees, consisting of the fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village." There was the common waste used for pasture, and sometimes there was common cultivation also of the entire cultivable land of the village.

Whenever a grant was given to a village, the officers and Gavudas of the village had to see that the grants were properly administered. A Pattana-svāmi, or town-mayor, had generally the right of precedence, and he represented the chief grievances of the people to the ruling power and obtained redress. He was usually a prominent merchant of the town. It was open to the villagers to form themselves into a town under certain conditions. In 1251, a hangle-seller Mallisetti converted his village Emmadūr into a town with the help of the other people of the village and obtained a grant. The villagers had to pay 32 *gadyaṇas* in 1254 (Ānanda), and afterwards only the taxes *alipu* and *anyāga*. Shanbogh Gōppayya wrote the grant. The people were willing to tax themselves for municipal purposes. Likewise the Mūgūr village became a town and commenced to hold a *santhe* (fair). Extension of the town was effected by encouraging house building. Those who built houses in the new town were exempted from the payment of taxes during the first year, and in the case of outsiders the exemption was continued for two years. Even as early as A.D. 1071, it was sanctioned that, with the exception of the house of the schoolmaster, the temple manager, the village watchman and the houses which had paid minor tolls, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāsu*, was levied on every house. Every important town like Dōrasamudra itself had several suburbs for learning, commerce and the like. Belgāmi included five *mathas*, three puras, seven Brahmapurēs and three medical dispensaries. Talakād had seven puras and five *mathas*. Agara had three cities and eighteen *khampanas*.

Commerce

Commerce was carried on by merchant princes as it were. One of these Ketamalla built the Hoysalēśvara temple in the name of the king and was known as Hoysana Setti. Setti was apparently an office to look after the trade and interest of the foreigners entrusted to a person amongst themselves. Trade was not purely local. Malēyāla merchants had migrated and settled in the country. The influence of the mercantile community was very great. A merchant who was specially skilled in testing all manner of precious stones was so liked by the king that he was entrusted with a domestic mission to a foreign potentate in which he was successful. He supplied at one and the same time the wants of the Mālawa, Kalinga, Chōla and Pāṇḍya kings.

While no Setti was equal to him throughout the Hoysala kingdom, he was just, honoured, of kind speech, full of common sense and delighting in truth. In Narasimha's time a Kērala merchant Damōdara of Kolamukapaṭṭana was famous for his liberality. Tanks, temples and choultries were built by him. He was exceedingly skilled in judging articles of trade and known as Mahāvaddabēvalāri. He was head of the Ubhāyanānādēsi Maleyālas. There were also Brāhman merchants, one of whom imported horses, elephants and pearls in ships by sea and sold them to the kings. Another merchant transported goods from the east to the west.

Medical Department

In the domain of medicine, there were army doctors. Belgāmi had three medical dispensaries in 1158. Kōḍiyamaṭṭha was intended for the treatment of destitute sick persons. The mother of Nāraṣimha III.'s minister had a Vaidya Dēvapilleyaṇṇa who, like Dhanvantari, was celebrated for his new system of medicine. Āyurvēda was taught in the universities.

Sanitation

Nor were principles of sanitation neglected. No one in pollution on the death of a relative was allowed to bathe in the tank built by Ketagavuda and apparently intended for drinking. A municipal notice-board issued in the thirteenth century under the signature of Rājaguru Viṣṇu Upādya permitted all people to bathe in the Yelachi channel, suggesting that it was forbidden before 1300 A.D.

Muzrai

There was a blending of the departments of Muzrai, education and public works, so far as temple building was concerned. It was in temples that instruction was largely imparted, religious as well as secular, for the maintenance of which large grants were made. The temples, besides being most exquisite pieces of workmanship, give us an insight into the public life of the times by means of the inscriptions and copperplate grants that they contain.

Banking

They also served the people as banks. According to an inscription of 1144, a certain sum of money was deposited with the worshipper of the temple, who had to utilise the interest thereon for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp. As to the rate of interest which this endowment carried, an inscription of 1259 may be said to suggest it. A lamp weighing 100 phala, each phala being equal to ten nishkas or gadyaṇas and being equal to 1,000 nishkas or mohurs, carried interest at the rate of a hāga (quarter) per poṇa, i.e., paṇa. If a hāga is taken as a quarter paṇam and poṇa as a paṇa or mohur, the interest will work out at one anna two

pies for every $3\frac{1}{2}$ Rs. or 2 $\frac{1}{12}$ per cent. Whether this is per month or per annum, it cannot be said. For the maintenance of temples generally, certain taxes were allowed as a grant. Here is the description of a Muzrai tax in Ballála III.'s reign. The Mahájanás of a place were ordered to pay certain taxes amounting in all to eighteen gadyaṇas, the taxes being, khana, abhyagate, tax on dhāvara-cart, fuel-cart, ghce, leaves, leather rope, ploughshare, thread, boiled rice tied up for a journey (kattu-gulu), warriors, elephants, horses, marriage (basiga-dere), smoke, looms, the five artizans (blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, masons and braziers), iron, bnws, children and salt-makers. Grants were also given for the maintenance of *dasis*, or dancing girls, the earliest of them belonging to the year 1091 A.D. and given to one Padmāvathi of the temple. Sometimes Devagolga and Dharmakolaga were also given by the Mahájanás of towns or Prajegals of villages as by those of Yadavanahalli in A.D. 1177. *Vrittis* were sometimes bestowed upon pious persons on certain conditions. There were generally forty vrittidadars in a village. In the village of Tavanidhi, about 1276, there were forty of them, and each had to pay annally two gadyaṇas and five paṇas. Twelve cartloads of fuel, rice, curds, milk, butter, etc., during each of the annual festivals named guru parva and panchaparva, had to be supplied collectively by them. The illumination expenses had to be met by a joint subscription of two gadyaṇas. The total income of a vritti village was thus 102 gadyaṇas, and the expenditure sanctioned was as under :—

2 Pújāris	...	...	...	...	10 Gadyaṇas.
The man who brought water for the sacred bath,				...	5 "
sweeper and grass scraper in the enclosure					"
2 Gardeners	...	...	...	...	10 "
Sandal	...	...	...	...	5 "
Incense	...	...	...	...	5 "
Lamps	...	...	...	...	10 "
Cook and cleaner of sacred vessels			...	...	5 "
The man who measured the temple grain	...			...	5 "
The cowherd in charge of the temple cows				...	5 "
Śivarāthri, davanaparva, nūlaparva, dipōtsava, senior-					
Odeyar's parva, junior Odeyar's parva	...			...	5 "
Supervisor in charge of temple treasury and granary	...			...	5 "
Cardamoms, camphor and music	...			...	2 "
				—	72
				—	

Pārvathi, the daughter of the donor Dēvavvē, was the superintendent of the temples and property belonging to the same. She was vested with full

powers in the administration of the temple funds. The alienation of the vritties was prohibited, and the vrittidar was liable to be turned out of his holding on misbehaviour, or turning heretic.

Public Instruction

In an age of temple building it was only natural to expect great activity in public instruction. After Dr. Venkatasubbaiya's paper on "Belgami," it would be unpardonable for me to dwell on university education in the Hoysala period, and I shall content myself with a very brief reference. In the sense of the modern universities, there was none in ancient India. University means a centre of learning for imparting advanced instruction in several departments of human knowledge. Brahmacāris resorted to the *gurukula*, or hermitage of the Rishi or sage, where they lived from twelve to sixteen or even forty-eight years until their training was complete. They lived on the premises, maintaining themselves by alms and performing the work entrusted to them by the *guru*. An ancient university in South India was of three kinds. An *agrahāra* was given for the acquisition of merit and for the promotion of education and learning; it was generally a whole village with the grant of its revenue for their maintenance. The Brahmans controlled and administered the village. There are several instances of grants of *agrahāras* given by Hoysala rulers in all parts of the empire. The sphere of their usefulness gradually lessened because of the troublous times they were in. Loss of income and property, degeneracy and decay of the priestcraft, the difficulty of livelihood and protection from brigandage affected the efficiency of the university, so that it was not true that they 'let the legions thunder pass', 'to plunge in thought again,' 'with a silent deep disdain' for material splendour and earthly afflictions like war, pestilence and the rest. Unlike the *Agraharas*, *Brahmapuris* were simply settlements of Brahmans in towns for promoting learning, and the Brahmans had *vritties* for their maintenance. The more numerous centres of instruction were the *mathas* and temples existing in all parts of the country. The *mathas* were a kind of residential colleges, where the students lived and received instruction, religious and secular. In some temples the students of the village were fed and educated. Government grants were given to defray the expenditure incurred. Vestiges of these ancient university types are still seen in the Śringēri and the Uttarāji *mutts*, where a few students board and lodge and undergo training in Sanskrit education. There was a private college at Mailangi, on the River Kāvēri, opposite to Talakād founded by Perumaladēva, minister of Ballāla III. Education of women was also attended to, as witness a Jain teacher instructing four female disciples (Shikārpur 201). Provision was made by kings for masters to teach Nagara,

Kannada, Tamil and Ārya (Marathi). The teachers were exempt from taxation, municipal and other. Eminent divines whether Jain, Hindu or Buddhist discoursed upon religious topics in public under the presidency of laymen. About 1195, Śivaśakti established the Śivasiddhānta after refuting the heretical doctrines by his polemical skill and became pre-eminent amongst the upholders of the Śivasamaya. There was a council of learned men which arranged public disputations. The capacity of learned men was tested by feats of learning. Mallidēva was famous as an extempore poet and Visva-natha was well known for his Sātavadhana (mnemonic) feats.

Language

The court language was Kannada in the western portion of the empire, Tamil being used in the eastern. The kings used Tamil in the Bangalore district and in the south for issuing orders as attested by the inscriptions. The form of their orders is interesting. It commenced with invocations of the deity according to the creed of the donor, the genealogy of the ruling sovereigns was next given, their deeds of heroism and their conquests. The provincial governor was then mentioned while the royal signature at the end finished the whole.

Royal orders were generally written on palm leaf or stone slabs. Other materials were also used for writing. Copperplates have already been mentioned. Kaditha, cloth covered with a composition of charcoal and gum, was used for keeping accounts and maintaining historical records. Style or pencil of pot-stone was used for writing on it. Viṣṇuwardhana wrote the Banavase ten thousand in his kaditha.

Inscriptions on slabs of stone and of royal *inams* to private persons on copperplates were much more numerous. Composition was excellently done and written with great care, so that there was no space left to add a single letter. Ornamental flourishes and fancy letters were used to make an attractive get-up. According to an inscription of 1159, the whole of the Gōgrahana was written in the highest and most pleasing style on a single page of a palmyra leaf.

Coins

Before proceeding to give a short account of the literature of the period, I shall just say a few words about sculpture and coins. Of the latter, there are some gold coins being identified from the Hoysala emblems which they contain, and the legend of Sri Nalambavādigonda on the reverse in old Kannada characters where the coins belong to Viṣṇu. The supposed copper coins of this period probably belong to the Tiger of Mysore, Tippu.

Sculpture

Sculpture is the most deserving of our attention of all that there is to observe in the Hoysala empire. Carving in stone which must have been done

by a higher quality of steel attained to a marvellous perfection and the palm in architecture must be given to the Hoysalas. The emblem of Sala and the tiger is 'a fine example of free standing sculpture'. This is placed in a most prominent portion in front of the Hoysala temples. 'Sala on one knee, guarding himself with a shield and plunging a dagger into a ferocious tiger of mythological breed, which is springing upon him' is an example of exquisite workmanship. 'But the most intricate and astonishing carving is that employed in the decoration of the Hoysala temples, and in the ceilings of small domes or cupolas of their interior. It is executed in a pot-stone of creamy colour, which can be polished till it resembles marble; soft when quarried, but hardening rapidly on exposure to the air.' A bracelet in the hand of a figure can be moved. The life-sized fly in the Belur temple is surpassed in execution by the elephant in the southern face of the Halebid temple, which is not bigger than a bean. Some of these will be illustrated to you in my lantern lecture on the 'Topography of Halebid'.

Literature

A detailed account of the literature of the period is given in Mr. Narsimhachar's "Karnataka Kavicharite". I can only mention a few outstanding names. The first Kannada work of any importance is "Jātaka-Tilaka", a poetical work on astrology written in 1049 A.D., by a Jain Siddhāchārya in the time of Āhavamalla, and Āryabhatta is mentioned as his predecessor in this work. There are chapters in it devoted to the construction of astronomical instruments. Nāgachandra or Abhinavapampa was a well known Jain poet, who built Mallinātha Jinālaya, the fane of a famous Tīrthankara in Vijayāpura, probably Bijāpur, his supposed birthplace. He was a disciple of Bālachandramuni and had quite a string of titles like the ear-ring of Sarasvathi, the pleasure-bringer to poets, etc. He is constantly quoted by such poets as Nāgavarma (1145), Durgasimha and others. His date is given as 1105. He was undoubtedly a court poet in the time of Vishṇu, and his most famous work "Pamparāmāyaṇa" is composed in *champu* or prose and verse mixed. Nāgachandra was the rival of a great poetess in the court called Kānṭhi. She is the first Kannada poetess and praises Pampa very much as borne out by a challenge regarding their respective literary outputs. Of her works, nothing is known and none exists.

Next comes Nāyasena (1112), author of "Dharmamitra" and after him Rājāditya (1120), famous for his mathematical knowledge. He is also known as Rājavarma, Bhāskara and the like. He praises Vishṇu-Vardhana in whose times he lived. His book on practical Arithmetic—"Vyāvāhara Gaṇita"—written in *champu* in five days, is the first Kannada work on the subject. Another work, "Jain Arithmetic" shows how questions

should be set and how they should be answered. "Lilāvathi", however, is his most popular one in which the sums are all worked out.

It cannot be said that the spirit of the age was not reflected in the literature of the times. In a work of 1151, as 'an endeavour to accommodate itself to the spirit of the age, Jina is described as the universal spirit who is Siva, Dhatri (Brahma), Sugata (Buddha) and Vishṇu.'

Nemichandra (1170) wrote a famous romance "Lilāvathi" and "Nēmināthapurāṇa", being known as Nēminātha on account of the latter. Rudrabhaṭṭa was the most important Brahman poet of the century. Ballāla II's minister, Chandramauli, was his patron. Contemporaries and successors alike quote from him. His chief work "Jagannāthavijaya", written in eighteen chapters in *champu*, narrates the story in the "Vishṇupurāṇa" from the birth of Kṛishṇa to the war with Baṇāsura.

Harihara (1165) was the foremost in importance of the Lingayat group. He was the author of "Girijākalyāṇa", "Sivagaṇadaragale", "Pampaśataka" and others. He was an ornament to the Karnata community. When, as an accountant to the king, he was on one occasion furnishing accounts to Narasimha I, he let slip the account books, violently rubbing his hands. The king enraged in consequence ordered an explanation, and Harihara rejoined that the roof of the Hampe Virupakshaswami temple having caught fire during an *arathi*, he stopped the flames by rapidly rubbing his hands. The king who naturally disbelieved this sent a servant to verify the information, but all were pleasantly surprised to find that Harihara had spoken the truth, and he was thereafter permanently entertained in the palace. It is said that Harihara was a bigoted Lingayat and vowed not bow to other Gods, nor enter their temples. But the significance of the Harihar temple (1224) was that 'the celebrated Siva acquired the form of Vishnu and that Vishnu acquired the great famous form of Siva,' in order to establish the Vedic saying that they two were one, and it may have been that Harihara himself was not unaware of it and tried to illustrate it in his own life. One of the first few poets of the sect, he is praised by all. His work, *par excellence*, "Girijākalyāṇa", is a description of the marriage of Siva with Parvathi. In composition he is close upon the Jain style, and writes with dignity and with ease.

His contemporary Raghavāṅka was an equally great, if not a greater poet, and author of "Harischandrakāvya", "Somanāthacharitrē", "Siddharāmapurāṇa", "Hariharamahātmya", "Vivēśvaracharitrē", and "Śambhucharitrē". Raghavāṅka once provoked his uncle Harihara so much that the latter knocked five of his teeth out, but afterwards restored them after five works were written in recompense. Eminent as a writer, he was also the recipient of royal favour,

like his great contemporaries, wherever he went. He read "Harisechandra Kāvya" before Dēva Raja, "Vivēśvaracharitrē" before Kakatiyarudra, and was also a court poet of Vīra-Nārasimha. "Harisechandra Kāvya", one of the best books that we possess in the language, is composed in Vārdhikashatpadi in eighteen chapters. It is famous for its peculiar construction, abounds in a good number of pure Kannada words, and is written in a fine, majestic and sonorous language.

Another contemporary Kērēya Pādmaraśa (1165) belonged to the purple, in that his great-grandfather was a petty chieftain in the Karnata country. As an irrigation minister, he had great influence with the king. As a man of letters, he defeated several eminent poets in literary discussions and induced Harihara to compose his masterpiece "Girijākalyāṇa". A medical work belonging to this century is known as "Karnātaka Kalyāṇa Kāraka" written by a Jaina, Somanatha.

Of the excellent group of poets in the thirteenth century, Janna (1209), son of Sumanōbaṇa of the Yadava capital, wrote "Yasōdacharitrē" in 1217 and "Ananthapurāṇa" in 1230. Being charitably disposed, he built the Ananthanātha-hasti and the doorway to Vijayanatha-basti at Halebid, and wrote several inscriptions. Varadanārayaṇa (early thirteenth century) wrote "Nyāyasudarsina", a Sanskrit philosophical work in the form of a learned commentary on the Brahmasutras according to the Visishtādvaita system. "Sūktisudhārṇava" was written for king Sōmēśvara by Mallikārjuna (1245) brother-in-law of Janna. His son Kēśi Rāja (1260) is famous to the Kannada-speaking world as the author of "Sadbhāṇidarpana". Salva wrote "Rasaratnākara", on dramatic composition, in a peculiar metre, intending it to be sung along with some musical instrument. Chamundarāja was the author of "Abhinavadasakumāracharitrē", a Kannada version of Dandi's work in Sanskrit. Meghānandi Siddhānti Chakravarthi was a *guru* of Kuruda Chandra Pandita, who was an emperor in the four kinds of learning and a Gandabhērunda to hostile debaters. He was the author of "Abhinavasāra Chatustaya". Amongst the Lingayats, Kērēya Padmarasa, the son, is an honoured name and associated with "Sānanda Charite", while Pālkurike Sōma wrote "Silasampadanē", and Sōmarāja produced "Udbhata Kāvya".

In the fourteenth century the Hoysala power came to an end. Jainism had become practically extinct, and little literary activity could be expected in an age of trouble and turmoil.

Social Life

The social life of the Hoysalas, their manners and their customs were not very different from our own in all essential matters. Men wore a waist cloth and left their breasts unprotected, but, of course, the full form

of dressing was not unknown. On the western side of the Hoysalèsvara temple, for example, is to be found the figure of a man with a turned collared coat reaching to the knee with a head-dress in the form of a night-cap, and instead of buttons, tape was used to fasten the sides of the coat on the breast and neck as it is sometimes done even now. Another figure in the same temple will, however, tell you that buttons were also in use in the twelfth century. A third figure wears a check long coat and *kammarband* as though to suggest that that was the form in which to enter the palace, as it is to-day. Dakshināmūrthi wears a long robe and hood with a staff in the right hand. The turban or head-dress, whiskers and moustaches on the face are also clearly observable. Boots and shoes were in use. Men wore no ornaments; these were reserved for women. Of course, high degree formed an exception. Men wore their hair tied up in a knot behind. Women wore *sadies* and covered their breasts with bodices much as they do at the present day. Dancing girls wore breeches, as witness the figures in the Halebid temples. Some women also wore sandals for the feet. They wore large ear-rings for the ear, and all parts of the body were bedecked with jewelry. Captain Mackenzie is wrong in saying that women left their upper part bare like the Malabar women of the present day. His conclusions are admittedly based upon the fact that most of the female figures in Hoysala temples are represented in that manner. Graphically to represent the various postures of beauty and feminine grace and also to show off to the best advantage the several breast ornaments worn by the women are the work of the sculptor, and the figures in themselves do not depict the custom of the age, except only incidentally, nor can we always hold to the dogma—architecture is the mirror of the age. Especially in Oriental art, as in Greek and Roman, beauty is shown naked. This is so from the fact that the sculptor takes for his guide in the work of preparation the description of beauty and design given in the sacred books, and endeavours his best to make the two things fit each other. It may be remarked, finally, that there are a few figures in the northern and western sides of the Hoysalèsvara temple at Halebid, where covering of the breasts of women is distinctly observed. Children below five were completely undressed just as nowadays in most village households. They were carried on the hips by women. Regal dress at the time can be gleaned from a stone slab in the Kappachānnigarāyasvami temple at Bēlūr, where the figures are supposed to represent Vishṇuvaradhana and his favourite consort. A cone-shaped cap covers the head of Vishṇu extending up to the ear and a robe flows down to the feet with another cloth thrown over it. Śāntalādēvi is very richly decorated and has large ear-rings with four diamonds in each. A figure in the Hoysalèsvara temple shows how women were dressing their hair

while another represents them as looking at their faces in circular looking-glasses. Hand-mirrors were in use.

Two-wheeled carts, made of plain, solid wheels were used. Spring carts and spoked wheels were also known. Kings naturally used springed four-wheeled carts. The wheels were lower than the body, and each wheel had a separate axle. Improvements in carriage-building had taken place, for example, witness the chariots of Rāma and Rāvana in the friezes of the Hoysalēśvara temple. Rice was pounded with mortar and pestle as is done now.

Interesting Information from the Temples

I shall now take you through some very interesting features of the Hoysala temples which are certain to excite your curiosity. Two perforated screens at the sides of the east doorway of the Kēśhava temple at Bēlūr represent the durbar of Ballāla II. A figure in the southern front of the Hoysalēśvara temple gives us the Hoysala telescope. It is suggested that a telescope was used in the battle between Karna and Arjuna. "The telescope is a surprise. The principle of the instrument was known to Roger Bacon in Europe who died about 1294, but the instrument was not in practical use until 1608 in Holland," while the Hoysala instrument belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century at the latest. Needles were in use as could be seen in a figure having a thorn removed by a seated figure with a needle. Another figure offers betel leaves which are true to Nature. You will get a syringe from still another which sprinkles *attar* on the assembly.

Sport

Wrestling was a common game as well as hunting. Wrestling matches were witnessed by kings and queens. Dancing girls exhibited *Kolātam* on occasions to the assembled multitude. Guns were in use, and a figure is shown as shooting with guns. Weapons of foot-soldiers were mostly bows and arrows, though fire-arms were used by the Suena invaders. Swords were generally rude, and a sharp, shining sword is seen in the Hoysalēśvara temple at Halebid. The hair twisted into a knot was a covering for the head of the warrior and long boots defended his legs. A large steel network protected the horse. They largely dismounted to fight, though some fought on horseback with lances. Saddle cloth was indispensable, and stirrups were not unknown. The horsemen wore breast-plates. "In examining the Indian hero and his charioteer, we seem to be viewing the ear of Achilles. The costumes of the equestrian figures is remarkable The figure of the horseman (contrary to everything that I have observed in any other sculpture or original in India)," says Captain Maekenzie, "is an example of the most graceful seat of modern European horsemanship. The steel network for the horse resembled that of an old Norman knight's steed in every respect."

Sacrifice

In war when victory hung in the balance, it was usual for the commander of the forces to call for some famous champion to lead a forlorn hope and devote his life to gain the day. It was considered a mark of very high regard and great honour to be selected for such a task. Such a thing was generally entrusted and confirmed with the presentation of a betel leaf to the champion by the chief in person from his own hand. The family of the fallen man was granted some land rent free. When a warrior thus fell in battle and attained the world of the Gods, a *virakal* was erected to the memory of the deceased hero. Invariably his wife committed suicide on the death of her lord as a mark of her unshaken fidelity to him and union with him as a *mahāsati*, and the stone erected to her memory was known as a *māstikal*. These memorial stones were also erected when a man displayed some other act of great personal courage, and when a woman committed *sati* on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband. That this singular custom of self-immolation was very largely in vogue and was even looked upon as honourable is proved by the encouragement that was accorded to this custom. Self-immolation took various ways and arose on different occasions. The kind of encouragement that was afforded by the State will also be referred to.

'Virakals'

Virakals were very elaborately sculptured slabs and were generally divided into three compartments. The lowest part depicted the scene of the hero's fall; in the panel above he marched triumphantly to the world of the Gods carried in a chair by Apsaras; the highest portion represented the slain man in heaven in the august presence of the Godhead. The portions between these three panels were occupied generally by inscriptions, dates, the event of the fall and the name of the hero, etc. In certain slabs scenes from actual life, manners and customs of the times, weapons and other features peculiar to the age were suggested which excite the curiosity of the visitor. In some *virakals*, as it were for a variety, the fallen hero is taken on a palanquin in the second panel with an umbrella spread over him from the top panel.

'Mastikals'

Māstikals were generally about four feet high, a human arm projecting from the pointed pillar or post at the top and bent upwards near the elbow. The fingers stood erect and separate from the raised hand, while a lime fruit was placed between the thumb and the forefinger. Sometimes a figure of a man and his wife were carved below it. A few *māstikals* contain three sculptured panels like regular *virakals*. In these *māstikals* flames of fire encircle the heads of two richly dressed female figures standing side by side with

uplifted right hands raised at right angles to the arm with a line in the hollow between the thumb and the forefinger. The female figures in the upper panel exhibit how those who commit sati are honoured and respected in the world. An equally rare variety of *māstikals* are those where they form a double memorial and are occasioned by the *sati* of both wives of a general. Another *māstikal* represents a husband and a wife, the latter with a mirror in the left hand and a water spout in the right while the flames are fuming all round her head. A rarer kind than these is a *māstikal* with three projecting hands. The most interesting of all the *māstikals* so far met with is the one at Ardini. It is seven feet high and divided into six panels. In the last panel at the bottom are found the bodyguards, bandmen beating drums and blowing horns. In the second row we meet with battle scenes where warriors fight with bows and arrows and rise and fall. In the third the same are depicted, but with swords and shields instead of bows and arrows. The fourth panel gives us husband and wife carried, with two men on either side, in a palanquin. A soldier on horseback is leading the way in front, while an umbrella bearer is attending on the blissful pair. In the next panel a dagger divides husband and wife who are sitting with folded hands. A female *chauri*-bearer waits upon the wife who is surrounded by flames near her head. Below these is a raised hand on a carved post lying horizontally in the usual style. The last panel contains 'a *linga* flanked by elephants on both sides, which bathe it with pnts of water held in their uplifted trunks'. The slab is trimmed at the top with a *torana* of the lion's head.

Garudas

The life-guards of the kings were known as Garudas. They vowed to live and die with the king and committed suicide on his death. The idea was that they considered themselves to be in no way inferior to Garudā (the vehicle god of Vishṇu) in their devotion to their masters and, therefore, naturally ended their lives with them. The *Virakals* commemorating the memories of these Garuda warriors consist of four panels, two of which represent battle scenes. A heavenly car conveys the hero in befitting style and honour to the Gods in the third, while the fourth represents the warrior as engaged in the worship of the Linga. Their resting place of Vaikunta and Kailāsa are also shown in some of them. It will be interesting to know how far the fidelity and loyalty of these Garudas were carried in their devotion to their masters. The following table will show how a family gave themselves up for the sake of their kings when the latter died :—

1.	Gandaoārāyaṇa Setti,	wife and servants gave	
	|	their lives on the occasion of the death of . . .	
2.	Hoysalasetti	„	Bitṭideva
3.	Kutēyanāyaka	„	Nārasimha I
4.	Siranēyaoāyaka	„	Ballāla II
5.	Lakhēyanāyaka	„	Nārasimha II
6.	Kaṣṇēyaoāyaka	„	Sorṣēvara
7.	Rangaiya	„	Nārasimha III

Sometimes the Garudas committed suicide in a wholesale manner. When Kuvāra Lakshma united with Garuda, his wife went with him to the world of the Gods.

‘Siddhalegodu’ or offering of the springing head

Of the other kinds of self-sacrifice the practice of *siddhalegodu* or offering of the springing head deserves mention. The inscribed pillar in the southern portion of the Halebid temple has eight figures about its middle which cut off their own heads with swords, an act presumably resorted to by faithful servants on their master's death. Of these, the figure in the north-west sits with folded hands while its cut off head springs up with the bound of the elastic rod lying in front of it; the figure in the south-east has its left hand occupied in holding its own cut off head by the hair, and the western figure is just cutting off its own head with the assistance of its left hand which holds the hair for the operation. Various stages of preparation are represented by the other figures. Some persons committed suicide on the death of their patrons in order to secure some cherished desires. A cowherd, in 1123, offered his head ‘to swing on the pole before the Gods’ if the king got offspring. In 1180, a chief gave his head to secure success for his army. In 1215 a woman gave her life in memory of the death of her chief's mother. The process of these decapitations was as follows:—‘The votary was seated close to an elastic rod or pole fixed in the ground behind. This was forcibly beat down over the head of the victim and the hook at the end made fast to the top-knot of hair. On being severed from the body, the head flew up, carried with the rebound of the rod released from its tension.’

‘Sallekhana’

The Jains resorted to a peculiar mode of self-destruction consistently with their chief tenet. It was death by starvation or *sallekhana*. For days

on end without food or water, men and women devoted themselves to the contemplation of the divinity till death was brought about.

Kodagi, Kere-Kodagi and Rakta-Kodagi

Where a man met his death in a meritorious act, a grant of land was given for the family of the fallen man. Where a grant of rent free land was conferred on the descendants of those who fell in battle, these *jāghirs* were called Kodagi which included the eight rights of possession and all the taxes with a guarantee from disturbance by the State even on such occasions like the king's coronation and the birth of a prince in the royal family. This must not be confounded with a Kêrê-Kodagi which was generally granted for peace works as for the repair of breached tanks. A Rakta-Kodagi, on the other hand, was given where distress was caused on account of a man being killed when he was despatched with force to punish a village.

Decorations and Titles

Decorations and titles were awarded to celebrated men in all departments of life, and military distinctions were also well known. *Patta* or dignity was a golden band which was worn as a symbol of royalty on the forehead. It was also bestowed upon distinguished persons as a mark of royal favour like the Order of the Garter. *Erēyanga* was Rāja Samudraharam inscribed in gold characters, while his children wore *keyesere* (bracelets) as a reward for services rendered from the Chālukyan king. Another high distinction bestowed upon prominent people was Gandapandara, being a gold anklet worn on the right leg. That which was awarded to Kuvara Lakshma was set with bunches of pearls. *Todar* was a gold chain or ring worn round the ankle of the left leg and was embossed with medallions. It was worn as a pledge of unswerving fidelity and devotion, and it marked the determination of the servant to die with his master and not survive him. When Kuvara Lakshma received it, his wife also put on one on her left to show that she would not desert him for another after his death.

'Nuzzer'

Nuzzer or the practice of touching and remitting offerings was known in connection with dues which the Brahmans had to pay to the State. There is a forerunner of the present custom, referred to in Hoysala history, according to which in 98 the palace was accustomed to touch and remit the former dues to the Brahmans of Sômanāthapura, in 1300, under Ballāla III.

Royal Harem

Kings had extensive domestic concerns. The strength of the royal harem cannot be exactly made out. It is known however that Narasimha, who later in his days lapsed into a voluptuary, had 384 well-born women in his female apartments.

Conditions of Labour

Lahour was paid for as a daily wage. For the architects of the temple, payment was made on the following scale :—Where the figures were cut, the wage formed the weight in copper of the broken pieces that were separated from the figure. Where the several limbs of the body were separated in bold and prominent relief, the weight of the removed little pieces was paid in equal quantity of silver, and where jewels and such other highly delicate and finished work was done, the falling powders were weighed and paid for in gold of the same weight.

Weights and Measures

Hoysala measures appear to have been like this. One *nishka* was supposed to be equal to a grain from each of the nine kinds of produce. Ten *nishkas* made one *phala*, sixty-four of which amounted to a *mana*. Twenty *manas* made one *kolaga*, and twenty *kolagas* in their turn one *khandaga* which sometimes consisted of forty and even sixty *kolagas*. The pagôda, haṇa, mohur, *chakra*, *suvarṇa*, *nishka*, *gādyana* and *paṇa* were all the same denoting the same denomination of a gold coin. It is not possible to ascertain the details of other measures that were undoubtedly known in the Hoysala period and a *paṇa* may have been one $\frac{1}{20}$ of a *gadyana* while a *panam* was 4 annas 8 pies. A *gadyana* may have been equal to three and a half rupees.

Famines

Famines and scarcity of water for drinking and irrigation purposes were not unknown. Once it had become so acute about 1225 that water was allowed extensively for agricultural operations from the Halebid tank. In a great famine at Aduguru, men and cattle were carried away by the score. Vishṇuvardhana and Narasimha bitterly complain of the attendant distress caused by famines in their day. Crimes of violence, cattle raids, carrying away of dancing girls by force for the army, bondmen and organised robbery happened to be on the increase when famines overtook the country. In spite of frequent famines the country grew prosperous as attested by the numerous tanks and temples constructed in the period. 'The Brahmanas were versed in the Vedas, the guards were brave, the fourth caste of unshaken speech, the women beautiful, the labourers submissive, the temples ornaments to the world, the tanks deep and wide, the woods full of fruit, the gardens full of flowers. Towns in the Hoysala country were surrounded with gardens, tanks filled with lotus were formed in their vicinity, groves were planted from *yojana* to *yojana* (nine miles) for travellers to rest in.' The people were 'hospitable to strangers, of one speech, prudent, following *dharma*, full of excellent poets, very honourable, religious, generous, liberal, learned and free from deceit.'

THE RĀJAGURU KRIYĀŚAKTI

BY DR. A. VENKATA SUBBIAH, M.A., PH. D.

IN my paper on "A Twelfth Century University in Mysore" (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, 1917, pp. 157-196), I had occasion, while referring to the educational activities of the Kālāmukhas, to mention the Rājaguru Kriyāśakti who was the teacher or preceptor of Bukka of Vijayanagar and of Harihara and Dēvarāya. Concerning this Kriyāśakti, I have there (p. 180) stated that 'his name first meets us in Sk. 281, dated Śaka 1290 (=A.D. 1368)' and that 'the latest inscription where the name of this Kriyāśakti (or of another guru of the same name) is cited is *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI. Dg. 23, dated August 11, A.D. 1410' There are, however, two other inscriptions contained in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*—VIII. Sb. 375, and X. Mb. 11—which also mention Kriyāśakti, but which were overlooked by me at the time I wrote the above paper. As these inscriptions, when considered along with the epigraphs referred to above, seem to point to some interesting conclusions, I propose to consider them here.

First, then, the epigraph Sb. 375 in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII. This is a copperplate grant, dated 13th February, A.D. 1347, and it records that Mārāpa son of Saṅgama and brother of Harihara I, while governing the Banavāse 'twelve thousand' and other Western provinces from Chandragutti as capital, defeated in battle the Kadamba king, and in commemoration of this victory, formed the village Kāntāpuri into an *agrahāra* named (after himself) Vira-Mārāpapuri and gave it away to twenty-eight Brahmins. The record then continues and relates that Mārāpa at that time was guided by the *mantrin* Mādhava, who surpassed Bṛihaspati in point of intellect, and that he had as his guru Kriyāśakti, who, on account of his refulgence (*tējas*) was the god Śiva incarnate and who, to please the *mantrin* Mādhava, gave to the world the *Śaivāgamasārasaṅgraha*. The language of the record, I may observe, is slightly corrupt. As stated above, this record is dated 13th February, A.D. 1347.

The inscription Mb. 11, in *Ep. Carnatica*, Vol. X, is written on the wall of a temple, and its text, as now published, contains some lacunae. This

inscription consists of two parts, the first written in Sanskrit verse and the second in Kannada prose. The language employed in the first part is very corrupt and makes it difficult to get at the sense intended by the Sanskrit stanzas which are three in number. These seem to record that the *guru* Kriyāśakti, who was Śiva himself incarnate, went to heaven in the year Vibhava, and that Immaḍi-Bukka, on that auspicious occasion, made a gift of the village of Kumṁāyipalli in the Āvani-Nāḍu to his *guru* who had now taken the form of Vidyāśaṅkara.¹

The second part in Kannada registers the same grant in proper technical language and relates that in the Śaka year 1312, Śukla (A.D. 1389) the *Mahāmañjalēśvara* Immaḍi-Bukka-rāya, son of the *Mahārājādhirāju* Harihara-Mahārāja, re-named the village Kumṁāyipalli (here called Kumṁā-dēviyahalli) as Vidyāśaṅkarapura and gave it as a gift to the god Vidyāśaṅkara established there.

It appears, therefore, from this epigraph that Kriyāśakti, the *guru* of Immaḍi-Bukka, died in the year Vibhava, i.e., in A.D. 1388, and that, on his death, Immaḍi-Bukka re-named the village Kumṁāyipalli as Vidyāśaṅkarapura and granted that village to the god Vidyāśaṅkara whom he set up there.²

The establishment of the Vidyāśaṅkara temple and of Vidyāśaṅkarapura on the occasion of the death of Kriyāśakti is very suggestive. The temple and the *pura* were established, as we have seen, on the occasion of Kriyāśakti's death, and presumably to commemorate his name. The name Vidyāśaṅkara, therefore, given to the temple and to the *pura* indicates to us that Kriyāśakti had the name of Vidyāśaṅkara or some other name approaching the word Vidyāśaṅkara very closely in sound. Such a name is Vidyātirtha, a name borne by an illustrious pontiff of Śrīngēri, to commemorate whose name the

1 I give here the three Sanskrit stanzas that comprise the first part of the inscription:—

para san-nidhiṁ san-nidhiṁ yaḥ śrīman-mahā-śaṅkaras
 śaṅkarō
 Śakābda-bhāji Vibhavā sambvatsarē Śrāvāṇe māsē ch-āṣita-pakṣa-Man-
 matha-dinē vārē Bhṛigūḥ sūbhavē.
 prātāp-ṛṇmaḍi-Bukka-bhūpa Kriyāśaktirity ākhyātasya gurōr Gurōr iva
 satām Śakrō bhyadhatta kramāt.
 Śrīmaty. Āhubantī-ṭk janapadē Kumṁāyipally-ākhyayā khyātum grāmaṁ asēsha-
 dāna-subhagē kūrē tad īdīm tūbhē.
 Vidyāśaṅkara-vigrahāya guravē Vidyāśaṅka-vyaktayē prātāp-ṛṇmaḍi-Bukka-
 bhūpatir-asēshāpādhi-muktuṁ mudā.

2 The inscription does not expressly say that the god Vidyāśaṅkara was set up in that village by Immaḍi-Bukka; but the tenor of the inscription indicates that such was the case. Mr. Narasimhachar's statement (in § 55, p. 15 of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1907-8) therefore that Mulbagal 11. of 1387 records grants for the worship, etc. of the image of Vidyāśaṅkara set up at Śrīngēri should be regarded as a mistake. Otherwise, it would be inexplicable why Immaḍi-Bukka should choose the occasion of the death of Kriyāśakti to make a gift to the god Vidyāśaṅkara set up at Śrīngēri.

beautiful Vidyāśaṅkara temple at Śrīṅgēri was built in A.D. 1338, or in A.D. 1356, as Mr. Narasimhachar would have it. (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1915-1916; p. 12, § 17). These two considerations, therefore, led Mr. Narasimhachar to the opinion that 'there is room to infer from Muḃbāgal II that he (i.e., Kriyāśakti) was Vidyātirtha himself.' (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1908, p. 16, § 55.)

But Vidyātirtha, the pontiff of Śrīṅgēri and *guru* of Sāyaṇa died, as we have seen above, before A.D. 1338 or 1356. And as the name Vidyāraṇya also approaches very closely in sound the name Vidyāśaṅkara, and as, moreover, that name was borne by another well-known pontiff of Śrīṅgēri who died in A.D. 1388—that is, at about the time³ recorded in *Ep. Carn.* X, Mb. 11—it seems more correct to infer that Kriyāśakti was known as Vidyāraṇya.

We are thus led to the question of the identity of Vidyāraṇya who, according to Mr. Narasimhachar (*Indian Antiquary*, 1916, p. 19), is the same as Mādhavāchārya of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and brother of Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha. This view is controverted by Mr. Subramanya Iyer (*Journal of the Mythic Society*, 1917, pp. 217-224), who is inclined to believe that Vidyāraṇya is identical with Mādhava-mantrin or Mādhavāchārya, son of Chāvuṇḍa-Bhaṭṭa of the Āṅgīrasa-gotra and the governor of some Western provinces under Bukka and Harihara.

I shall, therefore, now proceed to examine the arguments brought forward by Mr. Narasimhachar⁴ in support of his above identification, reserving for a later part the presentation of the considerations that go to show that Kriyāśakti and Vidyāraṇya are identical.

Mr. Narasimhachar's grounds for believing that Mādhavāchārya (of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and brother of Sāyaṇa) and Vidyāraṇya are one and the same individual are briefly these :—

1. A stanza⁵ in the *Tīthi-pradīpikā* of Nṛsiṃhasūri which says that *Kālanirṇaya*^{*} has been treated of by Vidyāraṇya and other scholars. 'Now,'

³ This time which, as we have seen above, was the Maṃmatha-tīthi of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, of Vibhava (:S 1370 or A.D. 1386) is apparently two years later than A.D. 1386, the year of Vidyāraṇya's death. I have, however, shown in §§ 22-23 of my book *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions* (now in the press) that phrases like 'Śaka 1310, Vibhava' sometimes refer to the year but one preceding the year cited, and sometimes to the year but one following it. Besides, I shall show below that the date given for the death of Vidyāraṇya is not at all reliable, but conflicts with that given in other inscriptions.

⁴ Mr. Subramanya Iyer has not backed up his opinion by means of arguments; he has (*loc. cit.*) but given expression to his opinion after showing that Mr. Narasimhachar's arguments do not justify his conclusions.

⁵ *Aṃantāchārya-varyṇṇa-mantrinā Mañchigallunā |
Vidyāraṇya-yatindradyair nirṇītaḥ Kāla-nirṇayaḥ*

^{*} As a matter of fact, this term in the *śloka* refers, not to a book, but to the subject—determination of time—treated of in the book.

says Mr. Narasimhāchar, 'it is well known that *Kālanirṇaya* was a work of Mādhavāchārya.'

2. A stanza 6 from Raṅganātha's *Vyāsasūtra-vṛtti* where the author says that his work is based on Vidyāraṇya's verses. Mr. Narasimhachar sees here a clear allusion to Mādhavāchārya's *Vaiyāsika-nyāyamālāvistara*.

3. The following stanza of Ahobala-panḍita :—

*Vēdānām bhāshya-kartā vivita-muni-vachā Dhātu-vṛttir vidhātā
prōdyad-Vidyānagaryām Harihara-nripatēs sārva-bhaumatva-dāyī |*

Vāṇi nilāhivēṇi sarasiṇa-nīlayā kinakaritisprasiddhā

Vidyāraṇyō 'graganyō' bhavaḍ akhila-guruḥ' Śankarō vīṭasankhaḥ

Here Mr. Narasimhachar says that the Dhātu-vṛtti of Mādhavāchārya is mentioned as a work of Vidyāraṇya, and that this points to the identity of the two.

4. A tradition that attributes the composition of the *Pañchadaśi* to Bhāratitirtha and Mādhavāchārya conjointly coupled with the invocation 7 and the colophon 8 to Rāmākṛishṇa's commentary on the same. These mention Bhāratitirtha and Vidyāraṇya, and this circumstance is taken by Mr. Narasimhachar to show that Mādhavāchārya and Vidyāraṇya are identical.

5. A copperplate inscription, dated A.D. 1386, which records that Harihara II. gave, in the presence of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda, a copper-grant to three scholars who were the promoters of the commentaries on the four Vēdas. 'We know,' says Mr. Narasimhachar, 'that Mādhavāchārya had a great deal to do with the composition of the commentaries on the Vēdas, and it is very likely that the grant was made at his instance to the above scholars for their co-operation in writing those monumental works. If Vidyāraṇya had been a different person altogether, there would have been no necessity to make the grant in his presence.'

Let us examine these reasons in detail. Taking first the stanza of Ahobala-panḍita, who, according to Mr. Narasimhachar, is said to have been Mādhavāchārya's sister's son, we find that this stanza gives expression to the traditions : (1) that Vidyāraṇya made Harihara an emperor, that is, that he established the kingdom of Vijayanagar ; (2) that he was the author of the commentaries on the four Vēdas, of the *Jaiminiya*—and *Vaiyāsika*—*Nyāyamālāvistara* and of the *Dhātuvṛtti* ; and (3) that Sarasvatī the goddess of learning was his servant. Of the works thus attributed to Vidyāraṇya the

6 *Vidyāraṇya-kṛitais Ślōkair Nṛsiṃhāśramasūktibhiḥ,
Sandṛībhā Vyāsa-Sūtrāṇam Vṛttir bhāshyāṃsārīni.*

7 *Natvā Śrī-Bhāratīrtha-Vidyāraṇya-munīvarau |
mayā dvaita-vivēkasya kṛiyatē Padayōjanā*

8 *iti Śrī-paramahansa-parivrājākāchārya-śrī-Bhāratīrtha-Vidyāraṇya-munivarya-
kinakarēṇa śrī-Rāmakṛishṇa-vidushā virachitā Padadīpikā.*

Dhātuvṛitti and the commentaries on the Vēdas are, as the introduction ⁹ and the colophons show, the works of Sāyaṇa and not of Mādhava. And the only conclusion to be drawn from this stanza, if it is reliable, is that Vidyāraṇya is identical with Sāyaṇa. But, as a matter of fact, the stanza is unreliable ; it merely mentions the tradition according to which Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya are the same person—a tradition the incorrectness of which it is the object of Mr. Narasimhachar to expose in his paper referred to above.

It is unnecessary to observe that the traditions embodied in the stanza are incorrect. Mādhava and Sāyaṇa are not the same person but, as Mr. Narasimhachar has shown, different persons ; and neither of them had, so far as we know, anything to do with the establishment of the Vijayanagar kingdom, and, secondly, none of the books mentioned above were written by Vidyāraṇya.

The statement of Ahobala-panḍita is, therefore, wholly worthless. The stanzas of the other two books—the *Vyāsaśūtravṛitti* and *Tithipradīpikā*—rest on the same tradition and are also equally unreliable.

Regarding the tradition ¹⁰ that the *Pañchadaśī* is the joint work of Bhāratitīrtha and Mādhavāchārya, I have no means of ascertaining whether it represents the truth or not. And in any case it does not at all follow from the circumstance that the commentator—Rāmakṛishṇa—mentions in his invocation the names of Bhāratitīrtha and Vidyāraṇya, that Mādhavāchārya is the same as Vidyāraṇya. As the colophon indicates to us, Bhāratitīrtha and Vidyāraṇya were the *gurus* of Rāmakṛishṇa, and he, therefore, mentions them in the introduction and the colophon. It is rather far-fetched, under such circumstances, to surmise that the two names mentioned in the introduction are those of the joint authors, and on the strength of such surmise to equate Mādhavāchārya with Vidyāraṇya.

As regards the fifth reason, it is difficult to see how the presence of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda, on the occasion when Harihara gave a copper-grant to three scholars who were the promoters of the commentaries on the Vēdas, establishes the identity of Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya. It is no unusual thing for a person to make his gifts to the donces in the presence of his *guru* ; see,

⁹ In the introduction of the *Dhātuvṛitti*, it is distinctly said that the author is Sāyaṇa, son of Māyana :—

*tēna Māyana-putrēṇa Sāyaṇēṇa manīṣiṇā
ākhyayā Mādhavīyēṇa Dhātuvṛittir virachyatē.*

And yet Mr. Narasimhachar, who quotes this stanza, on p. 2, of his paper, has so far forgotten it by the time he reaches p. 18, as to write ' Mādhavāchārya's *Dhātuvṛitti* there.

Regarding the authorship of the commentaries on the Vēdas, see below.

¹⁰ I may add that I am not aware of any such tradition, and that the printed editions of the *Pañchadaśī* that I have seen give Vidyāraṇya-muni as the name of the author.

for instance, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI., Kd. 16, 21, 23, 28, 30, 34, etc.; and, similarly, it is not unusual for a gift to be made in the presence of the notable people of the town or nāḍu; see *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII., Sk. 106, 118, 119, 122, etc.

The only inference, therefore, that can be drawn from the presence of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda on the above occasion is that he was the *guru* of Harihara the donor.

This examination of Mr. Narasimhachar's arguments for identifying Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya has, I trust, made it clear that there exists no ground for such identification.

Mr. Narasimhachar has in recent years discovered a number of copper-grants from which he has extracted a few incidents connected with Vidyāraṇya. Thus, for example, he informs us (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1916, p. 58) that 'about 1356, Vidyāraṇya was at Benares' and 'that he came to Śrīngēri by order of Vidyātirtha and at the request of Bukka I.' We are also informed (*ibid.* p. 59) that 'Virapratāpa-Harihara-Mahārāya, on Saturday the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year Kshaya, corresponding to the Śaka year 1309, on the death of Vidyāraṇya-Śrīpāda, granted some lands to the *mahājanas* of Śrīngēri; and we are further informed (*loc. cit.*) 'that Vidyāraṇya died at Hampi and that his *samādhi* or tomb was situated behind the Virūpāksha temple.'

These communications about incidents in the life of Vidyāraṇya would have been welcome as an important addition to the scant amount of knowledge that we have about that scholar, had the copperplate inscriptions which relate these incidents been genuine and reliable. But this unfortunately is not the case; for these copperplate grants contradict, as I shall show below, the stone inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Vol. VI.), the succession-list of the Śrīngēri *matha* and other literary records, and even one another.

The copper-grant noticed in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1916 shows, as we have seen above, that Vidyāraṇya died on Saturday, Jyēshṭha-bahula 13, in the year Kshaya corresponding to Śaka 1309 (current), or even earlier. On the other hand, a copper-grant noticed in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1908 (p. 14, § 54) says that the *Mahārājādhirāja* Harihara-Mahārāya, the establisher of the path of the Vēdas gave 'in the presence of *śrīmat-paramahamisa-parivrājakāchārya* śrī Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda a copper *śāsana* to the three scholars Nārāyaṇa-Vājapēyājin, Narahari-Somayājin and Paṇḍari-Dikshita—who were the promoters of the commentaries on the four Vēdas' on Tuesday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the second Āshāḍha, of the year Kshaya corresponding to Śaka 1308 (expired), at the

time of the Karkāṭa-saṅkrānti.¹¹ If Vidyāraṇya died in the month of Jyēṣṭha in Kshaya (Ś. 1308), how could the grant of the copper *śāsana* have been made *in his presence* in the second Āshāḍha of the same year, *thirty-four days later than the date of his death*?

Further, the Śrīngēri copper-grant referred to above (of A.D. 1386) contains a stanza which says that the 'the swan Bukka sports happily near the lotus Bhāratitirtha which, having sprung from Vidyātirtha (otherwise, the water of learning) possesses the fragrance of joy from a knowledge of non-dualism and expands by the rays of the sun Vidyāraṇya.'¹² According to this stanza, Vidyātirtha was succeeded as pontiff by Vidyāraṇya, and the latter, in turn, by Bhāratitirtha. The same conclusion is also to be drawn by the introductory verses of this copper-grant which, after invoking Śambhu (stanza 1) and the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu (stanza 2), mention in order Vidyātirtha (stanza 3), Vidyāraṇya (stanzas 4, 5), and Bhāratitirtha (stanza 6).

The same succession is given in the other copper-grant, whose copy, Mr. Narasimhachar says (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1916, p. 56, § 94) is contained in a *kaḍita* found in the *matha*. In the introduction of this grant, says Mr. Narasimhachar, 'after obeisance to Gaṇapati, Śambhu and the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, come six verses in praise of Vidyātirtha, Vidyāraṇya, Bhāratitirtha, Bukka and Harihara.' This inscription says further on that 'Bukkarāya, when he came to Śrīngēri to pay homage to the senior Śrīpāda (*i.e.*, Vidyātirtha) in the year Manmatha (1356 A.D.),' made a grant of lands, that 'Bhāratitirtha, dividing the lands (specified) of the revenue value of 600 *varahas* into 120 *vrittis*, bestowed them upon Brahmīns on the occasion of the consecration of the God Vidyāśaṅkara,' and that 'subsequently Bukkarāya wrote a letter to Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda, who was at Vārāṇasi, enclosing an order from the senior Śrīpāda (Vidyātirtha) requesting him to return to Virūpākṣa (Vijayanagar) . . .'

The succession to the Śrīngēri *matha* as presented by these two records is, therefore, as follows:—

Vidyātirtha

|

Vidyāraṇya

|

Bhāratitirtha

11 I cite the details of the date from the office-copy of the copperplate inscription.

12 *Vidyātīrthāṅ janimatī snbha Bhāratīrthapadmā*
nitya-vyaktādvaya-clid-amribhā-nanda-saurabhya-bhāji |
Vidyāraṇya-dyumaṇi-mahima-prāpta-lakṣmī-vikāśe
bhūyō-bhūyō viharati sukhī Bukka-bhūpālahamsaḥ ||

And the latter of the above two records informs us in addition that Vidyātirtha was living in A.D. 1356, and that at that time there were three *gurus*—Vidyātirtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratitirtha—in the *matha*.

Turn we now to the succession as known from other sources. The succession-list (*guru-paramparā*) that is kept in the Śṛīṅgeri *matha* itself gives the following succession :—

Vidyātirtha (or Vidyāśaṅkaratirtha)
(Ś. 1150-Ś. 1255, i.e., A.D. 1228-1333.)

|
Bhāratikṛishṇātirtha
(Ś. 1250-Ś. 1302, i.e., A.D. 1328-1380.)

|
Vidyāraṇya
(Ś. 1251-Ś. 1308, i.e., A.D., 1331-1386.)

Rāmakṛishṇa, the commentator on the *Pañchadaśi* has, as we have seen above, mentioned Bhāratitirtha first and Vidyāraṇya second in his introduction as well as in his colophon; according to him, therefore, Vidyāraṇya was the successor of Bhāratitirtha.

Coming now to stone inscriptions, an inscription at Śṛīṅgeri (*Ep. Carn.* VI. Sg. 1) which has an invocatory stanza addressed to Vidyātirtha, tells us that Harihara I. made a grant of lands to Bhāratitirtha-Śrīpāda for his and his disciples' (*śishya*) maintenance on a date corresponding to 9th March A.D. 1346. Though the inscription does not make use of phrases like *yōga-sāmrājyava māḍutiha kāladalli* (*ibid.* Sg. 3), or *yōga-pattavan-āḷutiha kāladalli* ¹³ (*ibid.* Sg. 5, 9, etc.), and describe Bhāratitirtha as 'reigning over the empire of Yoga,' there can nevertheless be no doubt that he was the reigning pontiff—if I may be permitted the use of such a term—at that time.¹⁴

13 Such phrases are first used in inscriptions of the fifteenth century A.D. at a time when the Śṛīṅgeri *gurus*, thanks to the patronage of the Vijayanagar kings, had become wealthy and well known.

14 The only other explanations possible are—(1) that Vidyātirtha was the senior or reigning *guru* and Bhāratitirtha the junior *guru*, and (2) that though Vidyātirtha was the senior *guru* and nominally reigning, he had, as a matter of fact, withdrawn himself from worldly affairs and had left the care of the pontificate to Bhāratitirtha. Neither of these explanations is admissible here. If Vidyātirtha had been living, Harihara would not have missed the opportunity of making a gift to him, regardless of whether he had resigned the work of the pontificate to other hands or no; for, Vidyātirtha being the senior and more illustrious of the two, a gift to him would bring in more *puṇya* than a gift to Bhāratitirtha. The fact, therefore, of Harihara's making a gift to Bhāratitirtha is enough to show that it was he that was the reigning pontiff and that Vidyātirtha was dead. It is interesting in this connection to refer to *Ep. Carn.* VII., Sk. 100, which relates that at the time when the pontiff Vidyābharāṇa of the Kūḍiya-*matha*, at Belgāme, had withdrawn himself from worldly affairs, deputing his senior disciple Vāmaśakti to look after the affairs of the *matha*, the W. Chālukyan emperor Sōmēśvara III. Bhūlōkamalla, who went there and wanted to make a gift to the *matha*, invited Vidyābharāṇa to come before him and made over the grant to him. (See *ante*, Vol. VII, p. 186.) The grant was not made to Vāmaśakti though he was the real head of the *matha*, because Vidyābharāṇa the senior *guru* was then living.

The next *guru* that we are informed of by the inscriptions is Vidyāraṇya who is mentioned in a stone inscription at Bhaṇḍigaḍe (*Ep. Carn.* Kp. 30), dated 11th June, A.D. 1378.

It will be seen, therefore, that according to (1) the succession-list in the Śṛīṅgēri *matha*; (2) literary documents and (3) stone inscriptions, Vidyāraṇya succeeded Bhāratitīrtha and not the latter the former. We may, therefore, take it as established that this is the correct succession.¹⁵

The copperplates brought to light by Mr. Narasimhachar give, as we have seen above, a different order of succession. They also conflict with one another, as we have seen above, in the matter of dates; and one of the copperplate grants mentions Vidyātīrtha as living in A.D. 1356, when, as we have seen above, he died before March A.D. 1346. These mistakes and incorrect statements show conclusively that the copperplate inscriptions in question are spurious and unreliable.¹⁶

The facts, therefore, gleaned from these copperplates and presented to us by Mr. Narasimhachar are not to be relied upon and must wholly be put out of consideration. The same, too, must be done with regard to the other incident related by Mr. Narasimhachar concerning Vidyāraṇya, Akshobhyatīrtha and Vēdānta-dēśika. This incident is found related in the *Guruparamparā* of the Vaḍagalai section of Viśiṣṭādvaitins, a book whose reliability is repudiated even by the *Tēngalai* Viśiṣṭādvaitins, not to speak of the Dvaitins and Advaitins. For the numerous anachronisms involved in this incident, as well as in other incidents of Vēdānta-dēśika's life,¹⁷ see pp. 287, 290, 293, 295, etc., of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIV (1916).

15 For those that regard Mādhavāchārya as identical with Vidyāraṇya, the latter's succession to Bhāratitīrtha will be evident from the passages contained in Mādhava's writings to the effect that Bhāratitīrtha was his *guru*; see, for instance, the stanza from the *Parāśara-Mādhaviya* cited on p. 2, of the *Indian Antiquary*, January 1916.

16 With respect to spurious grants in general, see Dr. Fleet's paper thereon in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pp. 201-222. See also Mr. Subramiah Pantulu's statement, on p. 277 of the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXVII, to the effect that the forgeries of Vijayanagar grants are nearly as numerous as the genuine grants.

Dr. Fleet has, in his paper referred to above, shown that the reason for such forgeries lies in the fact that the grants (almost all copper-grants and very few on stone) are title-deeds of real property or certificates of the right to duties, taxes, perquisites, etc.; and among the features which betray the spurious nature of such grants he includes corrupt language, faulty terminology in respect of titles, false dates, and fictitious pedigrees and successions. And in this connection I may point out how corrupt the language of the Śṛīṅgēri copper-grant of A.D. 1386 is; see pp. 38-39, *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1916*.

17 This life, as described in pp. 277-312 of the *J B B R A S.* Vol. XXIV (1916) by Mr. Rangachari on the authority of the *Vaḍagalai Gurupāḍamparā*, is so full of miracles and anachronisms, that it is easy to understand why the Tēngalais question its reliability.

Mr. Narasimhaachar has, in his paper referred to above, as well as in the *Mysore Archaeological Reports* for several years, made some mistaken statements about the authorship of the commentaries of the Vēdas. This subject is so important that I shall here, at the risk of being charged with digressing from the subject, attempt to correct them.

Mr. Narasimhaachar writes, on p. 19 (*Indian Antiquary*, 1916, February), that 'we know that Mādhavāchārya had a great deal to do with the composition of the commentaries on the Vēdas . . .'. This is a mistake; for, the commentaries on the Vēdas, as will be shown below, are the work, not of Mādhava, but of his brother Sāyaṇa. And the only connection which Mādhava had with these commentaries is thus related in the introduction to the *Ṛik-saṃhitā-bhāṣya* and *Taittiriya-saṃhitā-bhāṣya*¹⁸ by Sāyaṇa:—

. Bukka-mahipatiḥ |
 anv-aśān Mādhavāchāryaṃ Vēdārthasya prakāśanē || 8 ||
 sa prāha nripatiṃ rājan Sāyaṇāryō mam-ānujaḥ |
 sarvaṃ vētṭy-ēsha Vēdānāṃ vyākhyātritoṣṭhiṃ niyujyatām || 9 ||
 ity-ukto Mādhavāryēṇa Vira-Bukka-mahipatiḥ |
 anv-aśāt Sāyaṇāchāryaṃ Vēdārthasya prakāśanē || 10 ||
 yē pūrvōttara-mimāṃsē tē vyākhyāyāti-saṅgrahāt |
 kripāluḥ Sāyaṇāchāryō Vēdārthaṃ vaktumudyataḥ || 11 ||

"King Bukka ordered Mādhavāchārya¹⁹ to publish a commentary expounding clearly the meaning of the Vēdas."

"He (i.e., Mādhavāchārya) then said to the king, 'My younger brother Sāyaṇārya, O king, knows all about the Vēdas; let him be ordered to write commentaries on the Vēdas.'"

"Being thus addressed by Mādhavārya, king Vira-Bukka thereupon ordered Sāyaṇāchārya to compose commentaries on the Vēdas."

18. *Taittiriya-saṃhitā*, Ānandāśrama edition, Vol. I, p. 2.

19 The king Bukka I. began to reign in A.D. 1353 (see p. 112, in Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*) while Vidyāraṇya, according to the succession list of the Śrīṅgēri-maṭha referred to above, became a *sannyāsin* in 1331. As it is opposed to Indian etiquette that a king should order (*anv-aśāt*) a *sannyāsin* (and his *guru* in addition) to do anything, (similarly it is opposed to etiquette that a *sannyāsin* should refer to his 'younger brother,' 'father,' etc.) the wording of the above stanzas makes it clear that Mādhavāchārya is not identical with Vidyāraṇya. Contrast in this respect the wording of *Ep. Carn. XI*, Dg. 23, and of the copperplate inscription referred to by Mr. Narasimhaachar, on p. 18 of his paper (*Ind. Antiquary*, 1916, February), which describe the king Harihara as *Kriyāśakti-dēva-dīva-sri-pāda-padmārādha* (worshipper of the lotus feet of Kriyāśakti-dēva). *Kriyāśakti*, as I have already mentioned above, was the *guru* of Harihara.

A similar consideration shows us that Vidyāraṇya is not identical with Mādhava-mantrin of the Āṅgīrasa-gōtra. For, of this Mādhava-mantrin, too, we find that *Ep. Carn. VII*, Sk. 281, says that he was ruling the west-country 'by order of king Bukka' (*Vira-Bukka-bhūpatēr ādēśāt*); and the Banavāse inscription that he was ruling Jayantipura 'by order' of Harihara (*tasya-ājñayā*).

"And the compassionate Sāyaṇāchārya, after briefly commenting upon the *Pūrva* and *Uttara-Mīmāṃsās*, began to expound the meaning of the Vēdas."

According to the Bhāshyas on the *Ṛik-saṃhitā* and the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā*, therefore, the only share that Mādhavāchārya had in the composition of the commentaries, was that he asked Bukka to direct his brother Sāyaṇa to undertake that work. The introductions to the commentaries on the *Sāma-saṃhitā* and *Atharva-saṃhitā*, on the other hand, omit stanzas 8 cd, 9, and 10 ab. of the above, and thus make no reference to Mādhavāchārya. According to them, Bukka asked Sāyaṇāchārya to comment on the Vēdas, and Sāyaṇa undertook the task.

The commentary on the *Aitarēya-Bṛāhmaṇa* and some editions of the commentary on the *Ṛik-saṃhitā* also, on the other hand, omit stanzas 9 and 10 of the above and thus make no reference to Sāyaṇāchārya; according to these the commentaries were written by Mādhavāchārya. This statement, however, is contradicted by the colophons²⁰ given at the end of each *adhyāya*, *anuvāka*, and *khaṇḍa* which uniformly mention that the commentary is the work (*kṛiti*) of Sāyaṇa. In the commentary to the *Ṛik-saṃhitā*, Sāyaṇa also mentions that he had already written commentaries on the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, *Bṛāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*. And, further, he informs us that his mother's name was Śrīmati (R V. VIII. 46. colophon), and that his father's name was Māyaṇa (R V. VIII. 68 colophon). In R V. I. 51,8, he also makes a reference to his *Dhātuvṛitti*.²¹

It must be clear from the above discussion that it was Sāyaṇa that wrote the commentaries on the Vēdas and not his brother Mādhava. See in this connection Max Müller's *Rig-vēda*, Vol. VI, *Introduction*, pp. XXVI-XXX.

²⁰ *iti śrīmat-Sāyaṇāchārya-virachitē Mādhavīyē Vīdārtha-prakāśē* at the end of each *khaṇḍa* and *anuvāka* in the *Ṛik*, *Taittirīya*, *Sāma* and *Atharva Saṃhitās*, of the *Aitarēya* and *Taittirīya Bṛāhmaṇas*, etc.

The colophons at the end of *adhyāyas* are more high-sounding; they read as follows:—
iti śrīmat-rājādhirāja-paramēśvara—[Vaidikamārga-pravartaka—] śrī-Vīra-Bukka (Vīra-Harihara in the commentary of the Atharva-Saṃhitā)-sāmājya-dhurandhara-veṇa Sāyaṇāchāryeṇa virachitē.

The colophon at the end of the *prapāṭhakas* of the *Taittirīya-saṃhitā-bhāṣya* relate that the work was composed by Mādhavāchārya, the obeyer of the commands of Bukka-mahārāja, who was another incarnation of Vidyātirtha-mahēśvara! (*iti śrīmat-Vidyātirtha-Mahēśvaraparivātaśya . . . śrī-Vīra-Bukka-Mahārājasya ājñā-paripālakēna Mādhavāchāryeṇa . . .*). It is obvious that this colophon is spurious; and, moreover, the colophons—more than five hundred in number—at the end of each *anuvāka* of this *Saṃhitā* show that this was the work of Sāyaṇa.

²¹ R V. I. 51,8:—*sadhamādēshu | sah r mādyaṇty ēśhv ēti sadhamādā yajñāḥ | adhikarāṇē ghaṇ-pratyayaḥ | nanu 'madō' nupāsargē ityap-pratyayēna bhavitavyam | maivam | 'vyadhajapār-anupāsargē' ity-ātraiva madu iti vaktavyē yat 'madō' nupāsargē' iti prithag-upādānam tad-ghaṇ-āpi pakṣhē yathā syād-ēti Nyāsa-kārēṇa pratyapādīty-as mābhīr Dhātuvṛittāv-ēnktam |* The reference here is to a passage which occurs on p. 321 (lines, 12-14) of Vol. II, Part I, of the Mysore edition of the *Dhātuvṛitti*.

Now it is true that there is a Mādhava-dēva or Mādhava-bhaṭṭa who is frequently cited by Dēvarāja and Mahidhara as the writer of a *Vēda-bhāṣya*.

- (a) There is thus a Mādhava who is cited by Dēvarāja in the introduction to his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*; this Mādhava according to him (*Nirukta*, Bibliotheca Indica edition I, p. 4.) is the author of a *Vēda-bhāṣya*, of *Nāmānukramaṇi*, *Ākhyā-tānukramaṇi*, *Nipātānukramaṇi*, and *Nirvachanānukramaṇi*, and has been consulted by Dēvarāja in respect of the form of words. Dēvarāja says that he is the son of Vēnkaṭāchārya.
- (b) Dēvarāja also mentions (*op. cit.* p. 5) a certain Mādhava-dēva whose *Vēda-bhāṣya* he consulted in the matter of the explanation of words (*nirvachana*). A foot-note by the editor of the above edition—"Satyavrata Sāmaśramin"—tells us that this Mādhava is anterior to Mādhava brother of Sāyaṇa, while Pischel and Geldner (in *Vedische Studien*, Vol. I, *Einleitung*, p. VIII note) think that he is different from the latter Mādhava.²²
- (c) Thirdly, a Mādhava-bhaṭṭa is referred to by Sāyaṇa himself in his commentary on R V. X. 86, 1. This Mādhava was at first identified by Geldner (*Vedische Studien*, II, p. 28.) with Sāyaṇa's brother; but in his *Rig-Vēda-Kommentar* (p. 184 note) he expresses the opinion that this Mādhava-bhaṭṭa is identical with the Mādhava mentioned by Dēvarāja. However that may be, it is almost certain that he is not the same as Sāyaṇa's brother Mādhava; for, this latter is always referred to by Sāyaṇa as Mādhavārya, Mādhavāchārya or Mādhava and never as Mādhava-bhaṭṭa.
- (d) Fourthly, there is a Madhava who is frequently mentioned by Mahidhara in his *Vēda-bhāṣya*; in all probability, he is identical with one of the two or three Mādhavas mentioned above.

No one of these Mādhavas is identical with Mādhava brother of Sāyaṇa; in all probability, they were all anterior to the latter.²³ Mr. Narasimhachar's statement, therefore, that 'we know that Mādhavāchārya had a great deal to

²² He is also different to the Mādhava son of Venkaṭāchārya mentioned by Dēvarāja; this Mādhava has been consulted with respect to the *form* of words, while Mādhavadēva was consulted with respect to the *meaning* of words. They are thus two different people.

²³ Dēvarāja, the author of the *Nighaṇṭu-Bhāṣya*, being himself anterior to Sāyaṇa (Max Muller's *Rig-vēda*, Vol. VI, p. XXX) the Mādhavas mentioned by him are necessarily anterior to Sāyaṇa. The Mādhava-bhaṭṭa cited by Sāyaṇa is likewise for that reason anterior to Sāyaṇa.

do with the composition of the commentaries on the four Vēdas' is nothing but an unfortunate mistake caused by a confusion between the several Mādhavas referred to above, or by the tradition that Vidyāraṇya, Mādhava and Sāyaṇa are the same person.²⁴

Mr. Narasimhachar also draws attention (*Ind. Antiquary*, 1917, February, p. 19.) to 'the important information that several scholars helped Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇa in the composition of the commentaries on the Vēdas.' The reference here is to the three scholars Nārāyaṇa-Vājapēyayājin, Narahari-somayājīn, and Paṇḍari-dikshita who, as we were informed above, received a copper śāsana from Harihara II. in the presence of Vidyāraṇya-śrīpāda.

I have shown above that Mādhavāchārya had next to nothing to do with the writing of the commentaries on the Vēdas. I have also shown above that the copper-grant which furnishes Mr. Narasimhachar with the above information is wholly unreliable, as it makes out that Vidyāraṇya was living at a time when, according to another inscription, he had been dead for some days previously. Further, even supposing that this copper-grant is genuine, it does not furnish any basis for suggesting that these scholars 'helped Sāyaṇa in the composition of the commentaries.' The word used by the inscription is *chatur-vēda-bhāshya-pravartakar*²⁵—promoters of the commentaries on the four Vēdas which is a quite different thing from 'helping in the composition of the commentaries,' or collaborating with Sāyaṇa in the writing of the commentaries. This statement, too, therefore, must be regarded as another mistake, or, more precisely, a bundle of mistakes.

It must have become clear from what has gone above that Mr. Narasimhachar's statements (1) that Vidyāraṇya and Mādhavāchārya (brother of Sāyaṇa) are the same; (2) that Mādhavāchārya or Vidyāraṇya had a good deal to do with the composition of the commentaries of the Vēdas; (3) that in this work he was helped by Nārāyaṇa-Vājapēyayājin and other scholars, and (4) that Vidyāraṇya was at Benares in A.D. 1356, and was thence recalled by Bukka, etc., are all unreliable, because of their being based on spurious copperplates and traditions. There then remain to us about Vidyāraṇya only the traditions (compare Ahohala-panḍita's stanza quoted above), that he established

²⁴ Although it is true that Mr. Narasimhachar writes his paper with the avowed object of showing that this tradition is wrong, some of his sentences show that he has not entirely rid himself of the *vāsanā* of the above tradition, see note 9 above.

²⁵ Note the words *chatur-vēda* used here, which, in my opinion, seems to afford additional evidence of the spurious nature of the copperplate. It is most unlikely that the Atharva-vēda was well known in the fourteenth century; for not only are there no references to this Vēda in Sāyaṇa's *bhāshyas* of other Vēdas, but the genuineness of the commentary to the *Atharva-saṃhitā*, too, is more than questioned. See Lanman's Introduction to Whitney's *Translation of the Atharva-vēda*, p. XLVI.

the Vijayanagar kingdom, that he was the *guru* of Harihara and Bukka, and that he was noted for his austerities (which, indeed, were the means of his establishing the Vijayanagar kingdom) and scholarship. We may, therefore, now proceed to find out what the inscriptions have to say to us on these points about Kriyāśakti.

We have already seen above that the inscription Mb. 11 in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X points to the inference that Kriyāśakti had a name like Vidyāśaṅkara, Vidyātirtha or Vidyāraṇya. Such an inference is supported by two other inscriptions, *Ep. Carn. VII.* Sk. 28, and the Banavāse inscription referred to by Mr. Narasimhachar on p. 5 of his paper.²⁶

The former of these inscriptions records (as I have already stated on p. 180 *ante* Vol. VII) the foundation of an *agrahāra* named Vidyēśvarapura by Mādhava-mantrin, the disciple of Kriyāśakti. Although, according to the inscription, the name *Vidyēśvarapura* was ostensibly chosen, because of the eight Vidyēśvaras who were the objects of worship, without doubt there is also intended here an allusion to the other name borne by Kriyāśakti. The word Vidyēśvara is formed of the two words *Vidyā* and *Īśvara*, of which the latter word *Īśvara* is a synonym of the word *Śaṅkara*.²⁷ *Vidyēśvara-pura agraḥāra*, therefore, is in effect the same as *Vidyāśaṅkarapura* which, as we saw above, was founded by Immaḍi-Bukka to commemorate the name of Kriyāśakti.

The Banavāse inscription referred to above also records the foundation of an *agrahāra*, named (after himself) Mādhavapura by Mādhava-mantrin at the time when he was about to die. After his death, the inscription informs us, the king Harihara (II) deliberated with his ministers as to whom they should send as governor in the place of the deceased Mādhava-mantrin, and ultimately decided that Narahari-mantrin, a disciple of Vidyāśaṅkara, should be sent as governor of the Banavāse province.

This Banavāse inscription is dated 5th April, A.D. 1391, while Vidyātirtha or Vidyāśaṅkaratirtha, the *guru* of Śṛīṅgēri died, as we saw above, in A.D. 1338, according to the succession list of the Śṛīṅgēri-maṭha.²⁸ Narahari-mantrin, therefore, who became governor of the Banavāse province in A.D. 1391, could not have been the disciple of this Vidyātirtha. And, as we have seen above that Mādhava-mantrin, the successful administrator and governor, was a disciple of, that is, had been trained by Kriyāśakti, who was also known by the

²⁶ This is published in Vol. IV of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 115.

²⁷ Compare the *Amarakōśa* : *Īśvaras Sarva Itānas Śaṅkaras Chandrasēkharas*.

²⁸ The copperplate inscription which mentions Vidyātirtha as living in A.D. 1356, has been, above, shown to be spurious and unreliable. Even if we suppose that Vidyātirtha lived until A.D. 1356, his disciple would be too old in A.D. 1391 to be appointed as governor.

name of Vidyā-śaṅkara (or other similar name) and was, moreover, (as will be shown below) himself a very successful administrator, it can be easily inferred that the name Vidyā-śaṅkara used in this inscription refers to Kriyāśakti. It was because Narahari-mantrin was trained by Kriyāśakti, that the choice of the king and his ministers fell on him as successor to Mādhava-mantrin who, too, had been trained by the same teacher.

Considering, therefore, the three inscriptions—*Ep. Carn. VII, Sk. 281, ibid. X. Mb. 11*, and the Banavāse inscription referred to above—together, we can take it as established that Kriyāśakti was also known by the name of Vidyāśankara or some other similarly sounding name.

Regarding his austerities—*tapas* or *tējas*—we are informed by the epigraph Sb. 375 in *Ep. Carn. Vol. VIII* that 'he was Śiva incarnate in respect of his *tējas*'.²⁹ Similarly Sk. 281 in *Ep. Carn. Vol. VII* calls him an incarnation of the god Śiva;³⁰ and, finally, Mb. 11 in *Ep. Carn. Vol. X* also seems to do the same. Dg. 23 in *Ep. Carn. Vol. XI*, says that Kriyāśakti's body was the abode of the goddess presiding over the kingdom of *tapas*.³¹ It must be clear from these statements that Kriyāśakti was looked upon as unusually holy.

The inscriptions have not much to say about the learning and scholarship of Kriyāśakti. The only information about this point yielded by them is that Kriyāśakti gave to the world the *Śaivāgamasārasaṅgraha* (*Ep. Carn. VIII. Sb. 375*) which contained the essence of the three Vēdas, the Purāṇas and the Saṃhitās. And even this in all probability signifies a series of verbal discourses on that subject rather than a written work.

There are, however, some considerations which go to show that Kriyāśakti was a learned scholar. The inscriptions say of him, as we have seen above, that he was the god Śiva incarnate; and this expression denotes not only that Kriyāśakti was a great *yōgin* and *tapasvin*, but also that he was a man of great learning. Secondly, Mādhava-mantrin who was his disciple styles himself 'the establisher of the path of the Upanishads' (*Upanishan-mārga-pratishthā-guru* in *Ep. Carn. VII. Sk. 281*; *Upanishan-mārga-pravartakāchārya* in the Banavāse inscription referred to above) as well as 'the establisher of the Vēdas and Śāstras' (*Vēda-śāstrapratishthātri*).³² Bukka of Vjayanagar, another disciple of Kriyāśakti, is styled 'the promoter of the path of the Vēdas' (*Vaidika-mārga-pravartaka*) in Sāyaṇa's commentaries on the *Sāma-saṃhitā* and *Atharva-saṃhitā*, etc. This similarity of titles can only be

29 Kriyāśakti-gurus sākshāt tējasā śrī-triyambakaḥ.

30 Yas sākshād-Giriśāvatūra-vapushaḥ-Kāśī-vilāsītītiḥ (Kāśīvilāsa is a prenominal of Kriyāśakti.)

31 Tapō-rājya-lakṣmī-nivāsa-kāya-śrī-Kriyāśakti.

32 In his commentary on the *Sāta-saṃhitā*—*Vēda-śāstra-pratishthātrā śrīman-Mādhava-mantriṇā*.

explained by the supposition that in both cases it was the teaching of Kriyāśakti that led his illustrious pupils to pay prominence to the *Upanishads*, *Vēdas*, and *Śāstras*.

With respect to his connection with the kings of Vijayanagar, the inscription Cn. 256 (*Ep. Carn. Vol. V.*) informs us that Kriyāśakti was the *kula-guru* of Harihara II, and that he as well as Muddapa-daṇḍanāyaka, who used to advise Bukka I, continued to help Harihara II also. Accordingly we learn that Kriyāśakti was the *guru* of Bukka I. The inscription Sb. 375 (*Ep. Carn. Vol. VIII*) informs us, as we already saw above, that Kriyāśakti was the *guru* of Mārāpa, brother of Bukka I; and Mb. 11 (*Ep. Carn. Vol. X.*) that he was the *guru* of Immaḍi-Bukka who was the crown-prince at that time.

The epigraph Dg. 23 (in *Ep. Carn. Vol. XI.*) describes the king of Vijayanagar as one 'who had attained the group formed of splendour, learning (literally, omniscience), and empire by the grace which was obtained through worshipping the feet of Kriyāśakti that best of *gurus*, whose body was the abode of the goddess presiding over the realm of *tapas*; who was the teacher of a multitude of people who were the *gurus* of emperors; and who was a worshipper of the lotus feet of the self-born Triyambaka (i.e., of the god Śiva').³³ This epigraph,³⁴ therefore, seems to imply that it was Kriyāśakti who bestowed empire on the Vijayanagar kings.

33 *svayambhu-Triyambaka-charaṇāravindārādha-śrīmad-rāja-raja-guru-maṇḍalā-chārya-āchōryavaryā-abhanga-rāvutta-rāya-tapō-rājyala-kṣh m ī n i v ā s a - k ṛ y a - s r ī - K r i y ā ś a k t i - g u r u - v a r a - c h a r a ṇ a - p r i c h a r a ṇ a - p r a s ā d - ā s ā d i t a - m a h i t a - s ā r v a j ā y a - s ā m r ā j y a - v ā i b h a v a - s a m ā j a .*

34 It must, however, be noted that this epigraph belongs to the time of Dēvarāya, as it is dated 11th August, A.D. 1410. On the other hand, however, the occurrence of a similar title of Kriyāśakti in a corrupt form in a copperplate record, dated A.D. 1398, brought to light by Mr. Narasimhachar (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1912, p. 47, § 99) seems to show that the titles were in use long before A.D. 1410; probably, therefore, these titles were used of Kriyāśakti even before he died on the date mentioned in Mb. 11 (*Ep. Carn. Vol. X.*)

The occurrence, however, of the name of Kriyāśakti as a *Rājaguru* in A.D. 1410, when, as Mb. 11 informs, he died in Vibhava (A.D. 1388) needs some explanation. At first sight it looks as if there was in A.D. 1410, a Kriyāśakti, *guru* of the king of Vijayanagar, and of extraordinary wisdom and holiness. But, as we know, there was another Kriyāśakti of similar extraordinary attainments and the *guru* of many Vijayanagar kings and princes who died in A.D. 1388 or thereabout. And although the name of Kriyāśakti was fairly common among the Kālāmukhas, and might have been borne by different people of extraordinary scholarly attainments, it is still difficult to believe that in the period A.D. 1380-1410 there were two Kriyāśaktis, one following the other, who were both men of extraordinary scholarly attainments, and who were both *gurus* of the kings of Vijayanagar. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the reference to Kriyāśakti in *Ep. Carn. XI. Dg. 23* is made to the Kriyāśakti, whom we have been discussing above, and who died in A.D. 1388 or thereabout,

Let us now set down in parallel columns the incidents related by Vidyāraṇya by tradition, and those related of Kriyāśakti by the inscriptions. Of Vidyāraṇya, it is said by tradition that—

(1) He established the kingdom of Vijayanagar and bestowed sovereignty on Harihara ;

(2) That he was a man of great austerities ;

(3) That he was a great scholar and promoter of the commentaries on the Vēdas ; and

(4) He was the *kula-guru* and the spiritual as well as temporal adviser of the Vijayanagar kings.

Of Kriyāśakti, it is related by the inscriptions that—

(1) He bestowed sovereignty on the Vijayanagar kings ;

(2) He was a man of great austerities and was looked upon as the god Śiva incarnate ;

(3) He was a great scholar and promoter of the path of the Upanishads, Vēdas and Śāstras ; and,

(4) He was the *kula-guru* of the kings of Vijayanagar and was their adviser.

If to this we add that Kriyāśakti was also known by a name that began with *Vidyā*, like Vidyāśaṅkara, Vidyātirtha or Vidyāraṇya, and that his death occurred at a time when it is said that Vidyāraṇya, too, died, it seems legitimate to conclude that Kriyāśakti is the same as Vidyāraṇya.

If this inference is true; then Kriyāśakti would be a worthy successor of the well known Vāmaśakti, the *rājaguru* and head of the Kēdārēśvara-matḥa at Belgāme, and of the other Kālāmukha *rājagurus* mentioned by me on p. 179 ante Vol. VII; not only that, he would be, far and away, the most brilliant of them all. It is perhaps for this reason that he is called not a mere *rājaguru*, teacher of the king, but *rāja-rāja-guru-maṇḍalāchārya*, teacher of a multitude of people who are teachers of emperors, and *rāja-rāja-guru-pitāmaha*, the grandfather (i.e., the Nestor) of *gurus* of emperors.

At first sight, indeed, the idea that Vidyāraṇya is identical with the Kālāmukha *guru* Kriyāśakti is apt to be repellant ; for the Kālāmukhas, it is believed, were Āgamic Śaivas, who placed the authority of the Āgamas above that of the Vēdas, while the Śrīṅgēri-matḥa is known to be the stronghold of the Vaidik Śaivas, who reject the authority of the Āgamas and accept the Vēdas only as authoritative. It is, however, doubtful if this belief about the Kālāmukhas is entirely justified. In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries specially, as I have pointed out, (see p. 177, ante Vol. VII) they were in a very flourishing condition and practically had a monopoly of the headships of *mathas* and colleges in the Kanarese country, and were liberally patronised by the ruling kings. As it cannot be seriously argued that Vēdic Śaivism was dead or moribund in that period, and that the rulers of that period were accustomed to dispense their patronage to heretics only, we are forced to revise our

opinion about the Kālāmukhas being *pāṣandās* or heretics, denying the authority of the Vēdas. See, also, in this connection, p. 187 *ante*, Vol. VII where it is said of Vāmaśakti that 'he had arrived at the final meaning of the Vēdānta and of the Dharma-śāstras,' thus showing that the Kālāmukhas were not heretics. Secondly, even supposing that Kriyāśakti was an Āgamie Śaiva, this does not mean that he and his teachings were unacceptable to the Vēdic Śaivas; for, the *Tātparya-dīpikā*, a commentary on the *Sūla-saṃhitā* by Mādhava-mantrin, the disciple of Kriyāśakti and a proclaimed *Linga*-worshipper, is regarded as Mr. Subramanya Iyer has written (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 220), as 'one of the most important works on Advaita-Vēdānta'. This work must have been, to a great extent, inspired by Kriyāśakti. The fact, therefore, that Kriyāśakti was a Kālāmukha does not militate even slightly against his identification with Vidyāraṇya.

It seems, therefore, that the Kālāmukha order was not entirely destroyed, and their work did not wholly cease, after the devastating raids of the Muhammedans. I have, on p. 196 *ante*, Vol. VII, said that the activities of the Kālāmukhas of Belgāme, Kuppaṭiūr, etc., cease to be heard of towards the close of the thirteenth century, and have therefrom inferred that their institutions must have been destroyed by the Muhammedans about 1310 A.D. The Vijayanagar kingdom was shortly after established in A.D. 1336 by the instrumentality, as tradition relates, of Vidyāraṇya. This kingdom formed a bulwark against further Muhammedan encroachments and fostered to a great extent Hinduism and its literature. It is, therefore, natural to suppose that the interrupted labours of the Kālāmukhas were to some extent resumed by them in this period; and it is not at all unlikely that Vidyāraṇya, who established the Vijayanagar kingdom, belonged to the Kālāmukhas, who had three centuries of good educational work behind them, and who had from time to time produced famous *rājagurus* like Vāmaśakti of Belgāme, and Rudraśakti of Dvārasamudra, from amongst them.

These considerations, therefore, lend support to the idea that Vidyāraṇya and Kriyāśakti are the same. But whether they are the same or different persons, there is no denying that Kriyāśakti was a far-seeing statesman, that he trained brilliant administrators like Mādhava and Narahari,³⁵ and that he

³⁵ The wise and successful administration of Mādhava and Narahari is mentioned in the Banavāse inscription referred to above.

We read there that Mādhava defeated and drove back the Muhammedans, captured Goa, and re-established the Hindu temples in the Konkan. For the rest, we have already seen that *Ep. Carn. VIII*, Sh.375 relates of him that he surpassed Bṛihaspati himself in acuteness of intellect; *Ep. Carn. VII*, Sk.281, too, says of him that he was a Bṛihaspati in the matter of *utīti*, i.e., of politics and diplomacy.

Regarding Narahari, the Banavāse inscription says in hyperbolical language that his renown crossed the seven mahā-dvīpas, surmounted the mountain [of Mēru], penetrated heaven and even reached as far as the Pole-star.

krītvā sapta-padāni saptaṣu mahā-dvīpēṣu bhūbhṛich-ṅhilān.
āsthayāthā vimuchya śātrava-yaśō-lājān pratāpānāṁ |
pratyakṣhēṇa vilōkitum divam apī prāptā tath rūndhatīm
ittham kīrti-vāḍhūs sadā Narahari-kṣmāpam vṛiṇītē varam ||

greatly influenced his disciples Mādhava-mantrin, Bukka, and others to patronise and foster Indian literature.

Kriyāśakti is thus one of the most prominent figures in the fourteenth century; and among the many things for which Hinduism should feel grateful for the Kāṭīyukha sect, not the least important of them is that at the above critical juncture in Indian history that sect was able to bring forth such a commanding figure as Kriyāśakti, who had the genius to establish, to inspire and to guide the new kingdom and to launch it on its glorious career.

"THE EUGENIC BASIS OF THE CASTE SYSTEM"

BY R. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR, ESQ., B.A.

"THE woman is said to be like unto a field and the man is like unto a seed ; the origin of all creations is in the union of the seed and the soil. (33)

"In some cases the pre-eminence is of the seed and in others the dominance is of the soil ; commendable is the offspring where the seed and the soil are equally dominant. (34)

"Of the seed and the soil, the predominance is said to be of the seed, inasmuch as the births of all created things are marked by the specific traits of the seeds. (35)

"Different kinds of seeds sown in the field by husbandmen in proper season are seen to sprout up in different forms according to the specific natural varieties of the species. (38)

"From the seeds of one kind sprouts of another kind (of vegetables) are not seen to germinate ; like sprouts germinate from the like species of seeds."—("Manu Samhitā", Chapter XI.) (40)

Such was the highest and the most philosophic conception of Eugenics to which the Hindus had attained some three thousand years ago and which, though expressed in so few words here, still unfolded a world of thought for investigation and experiment. The idea was subsequently developed and elaborated into a regular science in Vātsāyana's "Kāmasutra" and in the medical works of Atreya relating to *Sarīrastāna* and *Sūtrastāna*.¹

According to Ātrēya, the sperm-cell of the male parent or *vija* contains within itself in minutest detail all the organs and characteristics natural to the parent stock. As soon as it is planted into the fertilised ovum, the latent and potential organism begins to sprout under the influence of the animal heat generated in the ovum and to absorb in the process of growth the deeply rooted characteristics of the female parent. There are certain qualities which are permanently ingrained in the sperm-cell and the fertilised ovum and which are inseparable from them, while others there are, which are acquired by them either at birth or in later life. Under the former head are included the characteristics peculiar to the species, such

¹ "The Physical Sciences of the Hindus," by Mr. Brajendra Nath Seal.

as the human or the bovine species, the equine species or the Aswatha species (*Ficus Religiosa*). Their moulds are permanent, and no human ingenuity can change them. For instance, a woman cannot beget a bird; nor can a parrot bring forth a horse; nor a cat a man. Under the latter head will come all the minor characteristics peculiar to each mould, *viz.*, form and features, colour and complexion, instinct and intellect, humour and temperament, and diseases and deformities. These characteristics are capable of transmission only to the extent to which they are ingrained in the *germ plasm* or the fertilised ovum. Where a constitutional disease acquired in later life by the parent is not inherited by the offspring, Atreya would suppose that the male *vija* and the fertilised ovum have not been affected by the *virus* of the disease. When a parent possessing the elements of genius begets an idiotic son, Ātrēya considers that the development of the parental brain has taken place independently of the *bija* or, in other words, has not originated from it. Where a parent begets half a dozen children with different characteristics, the variations are said to be due to the neutral actions taking place in the fertilised ovum from time to time according to the parent's conditions of life. The beauty of the form and the symmetry of the features, the brilliancy of the colour and the fairness of the complexion, the strength of the instinct and the keenness of the intellect, the steadiness of the humours and the sobriety of the temperament, all these qualities, if not deeply rooted in the parental germ-plasm and diligently conserved and protected, are subject to the destructive operation of climate, locality, environments, conditions of life, temptations and allurements; and where these disturbing factors gain the upper hand, the germinal seed shows a quick susceptibility to deflection or deviation. The primary duty of man, therefore, is to conserve the vital forces of his germ plasm by self-abnegation, to instil into it only the elements of healthy development by unremitting concentration and practice, and to weed it of all obnoxious growth by the observance of the strictest discipline.

No nation ever realised the gravity and complexity of this bewildering problem, and no nation ever succeeded in finding an easy and workable solution of it more than the ancient Indo-Aryans did. For, unlike the European nations who, though geographically placed apart from each other, are still more or less of a common colour and of a common religion, and among whom the predominance of the seed and the soil generally depend only upon the possession of wealth by the owners thereof, the early Indo-Aryans had to solve the most difficult race problem that ever confronted humanity, namely, that of dealing with the Dravidians and the uncivilised black aboriginal races who were the natives of the soil in India before them,

a problem which was very much similar in magnitude to the rancorous race conflict now going on in America between the negroes and the whites, in South Africa between the black races and the Boers, and in Australia between the aborigines and white settlers. Mr. Livingstone observes:—

“ The problem involved in the relation of the white and the black races is perhaps the most difficult one which lies before the world. There is no question so important in its bearing on the happiness of millions of human beings. Yet it is curious how little the subject occupies the mind of the public, and how great the ignorance is regarding it even among those who guide the destinies of the nations. This is as true of Britain which has been in contact with the negro for centuries as it is of other countries which have just begun to handle the problem. In none has any definite and settled policy on the matter been adopted, or any clear conclusive understanding been arrived at concerning the real position of the blackman in the scheme of things, his capacity for advancement and the possibility of his living side by side on equal terms with the white² ”.

This admittedly huge and complex problem, which now looms large in the history of the world wherever the white nations have established colonies in the midst of the black races or *vice versa*, and which even the mighty intellect of statesmen has not been able to solve—this vexed problem of the race conflict had long ago been solved by the ancient Hindus in a way at once satisfactory and acceptable even to the lowest races then engaged in the conflict in India. Placed in the midst of an inexhaustible bounty of nature over a large surface of land which admitted of a perennial increase of the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life and being themselves a nation of thinkers, philosophers and naturalists, they at once recognised the fundamental relation between population and subsistence, and with a view not to allow any human waste, they absorbed the Dravidian and the aboriginal races of India into their body politic, assigned them a place therein suited to their habits and temperament, provided them with employment and protected their life, liberty and property. At the same time, they clearly foresaw the danger of a promiscuous admixture of all races and communities; because believing as they did strongly in the ‘germ-plasm’ theory of Atreya and in the law of heredity based on the transmigration of souls with the accumulated experience of previous births, they apprehended that unless stringent restrictions were placed on the matrimonial relations of the several classes of people, the Aryan blood would soon suffer degeneration, and the specialisation of knowledge and instinct which they aimed at would also deteriorate. Thus with the twofold object of preserving the dominant

² “ The Race Conflict,” by Livingstone, p. 1.

characteristics of the several classes of seeds and soils, and of securing thereby the commonweal of the entire national organism, they introduced a broad scheme of division of society into four classes or castes to serve the *cognitive*, the *protective*, the *sustentative*, and the *operative* functions of the national organism, each independent of the other, but all of them co-ordinated towards the common good of the entire body politic, and they called the performers of these functions the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras respectively. Herein lies the origin of the oft-criticised and much-maligned caste system of India which with all its evils, inherent and imaginary, has survived the ravages of foreign invasions and the impact of Occidental civilisations imported from the West for well over three thousand years. "From age to age, from father to son, through a hundred generations, the same uniformity of manners and cast of character prevail, inexterminable by the sword and unalterable by the example of their conquerors."

Now before discussing the dominant eugenic aspects of the caste system, it seems necessary to explain briefly its servient elements, viz., the intellectual, and economic features. First, as regards the intellectual aspects of the caste system, it aimed at nothing more than a specialisation of knowledge in all classes of people. It produced trained statesmen, trained warriors, trained artisans and traders, and trained agriculturists, each with an ingrained instinct for the profession. The average Vedic Brahmin of ancient India possessed no practical knowledge of the utility of the rotation of crops, while the Kshatriya would be bewildered by the profit and loss account of a shopkeeper; a Vaisya would shut himself up in doors and secure his palm leaf accounts and copper coins at the least noise of a bustle in the street, while a Sudra would yawn and drop down dead asleep before an Āchārya, who began to expound to him the avatars and the incarnation of soul. Nevertheless, those who had a longing and a taste for the higher branches of learning and profession were never prevented from satisfying their desires. The ancient sages and Rishis transmitted the essence of the Vēdas through thousands of channels, the Srutis, Smritis, Samhitas, Upanishads, Niti śāstras, Itihāsas, Purāṇas and scientific treatises for the edification of the masses of the people of all castes, including Brahmins who, in the midst of their more important avocations and functions in life, could not find the time or possess the inclination to be absorbed in meditation and cogitation. Ignorance and illiteracy were never the hand of any exclusive caste, and genius and intelligence always found recognition wherever found. Gautama ordained that in times of necessity "a Brahmana may learn an art or science from a non-Brahmana teacher, and he should serve and follow his preceptor until the close of his study".³ Manu also said ;—"Among members of the

3 "Gautama Samhita," Chapter VII (i).

three (twice born) castes, he who has the best of the five above qualifications (wealth, friends, age, work and erudition) is entitled to the highest honour. Even a Sudra of ninety years complete shall be respected by the twice born ones⁴ ". The author of " Vishṇu Samhita " has nothing but contempt for a Brahmana who is of cat-like conduct (*Bidāla Vratī*), who is a hypocrite (*Baka Vratī*), or who is ignorant of the Vedas, or who is covetous, arrogant, malicious, deceitful and slandering, or who brags of his pieties, or who assumes a garb of false humility and tries to further his own ends at the cost of other men's interests⁵. Anybody who possesses even the slightest acquaintance with the ancient literature of Southern India must know what intellectual giants the lower classes, particularly the Sudras, have produced in common with the Brahmins in the past.

In politics and State administration the Brahmins, with the frightful programme of daily life drawn up for their Brahmachārya, Grahasta and Vānaprastha āśramams, and with the oppressive multiplicity of rites, rituals and ceremonies imposed upon them till death, were generally unsuited for any active service under Government. At the request of kings and emperors, however, they framed laws and regulations suited to the conditions of the people and of the times, but left their actual administration mainly in the hands of their brethren of the lower classes. In his discourse to Yudhishtra, Bhishma said, " Four ⁶ Brahmanas learned in the Vedas endued with a sense of dignity, belonging to the Snataka order and of pure conduct, and eight Kshatriyas all of whom should have physical strength and be capable of wielding weapons, and one and twenty Vaishyas all of whom should be rich, and three Sudras every one of whom should be humble and of pure conduct and devoted to his daily duties, and one man of the *Suta* ⁷ caste possessing a knowledge of the Puranas and the eight principal virtues, should be your ministers." The above extract speaks for itself and shows beyond doubt that, whatever might have been the religious predominance arrogated by the Brahmins to themselves, there was at least no political Kshatriya, nor political Sudra, in the intellectual, moral and material evolution of the Hindu society, as they were all admitted even into the very councils of the empire on an equal footing with, and in much larger proportions than, the Brahmins.

Parasara clearly pointed out, " Brahmins who are ignorant of the Vēdas and *Gāyatri* and *Sandya*, and those who do not cast any oblation in the sacri-

4 " Manu Samhita, " Chapter II (137).

5 " Vishṇu Samhita, " Chapter XC (iii) 7-9.

6. " Mahābhārata-śānti Parva, " Chapter LXXXV, 7-11. Manmatha Nath Dutt's Translation Volume VII, p. 127.

7. A son begotten by a Kshatriya on a Brahmana woman becomes a Suta by caste. (" Manu Samhita, " Chapter IX-XI).

ficial fire and live by agriculture are only Brahmins in name. A synod or assembly consisting of thousands of those Brahmins who are devoid of *Mantras* and *Vrathas*, and who trade upon the privileges of their own caste in order to earn a living, should be regarded as wanting in the status of a true synod⁸”.

In *Sukra Niti*⁹ it is laid down : “ Just as gold is tested by experts by reference to its lightness or heaviness of weight, colour, sound, etc., so also one should examine servants (or office-bearers) by reference to their work, companionship, merits, habits, family relations, etc., and place confidence in one who is found to be trustworthy.”

“ One should not notice the *caste (or race) alone*, or only the family (in making the selection).”

“ Work, character and merit—these three are to be respected. *Neither by caste or family* can superiority be asserted.”

“ Those who are well up in *Niti śāstras*, the use of arms and armunitions, manipulations of battle arrays, and the art of management and discipline, who are not too young but of middle age, who are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of their duties, devoted to their masters, and haters of enemies should be made commanders and soldiers *whether they are Sudras or Kshatriyas, Vaisyas or descended from Mleechhas*.”

“ Those who are versed in the arts of politics, have intelligence and are men of good deeds, habits, and attributes, who are impartial to friends and foes alike, religious-minded and truthful, who are not slothful, who have conquered the passions of anger, lust and cupidity, who are gentle in speech and old in age, should be made members of council *irrespective of caste*.”

Now coming to the economic aspect of the caste system, it was, broadly speaking, the product of the application of the Law of Heredity to the Law of Utility. “ From age to age, and from father to son, through a hundred generations,” it fostered the development of the cogitative faculty, the warlike spirit, the commercial instinct, and the productive intellect of each class or caste on humanitarian and utilitarian principles, thereby specialising the instinct of profession and preserving the continuity of calling. Indeed, the caste system, as it was originally devised, was a huge national co-operative organisation with a cogitative directorate and a powerful protectorate, guiding and regulating the distributive and the productive powers of the nation. It was under the auspices of such an organisation that India was able to send her richest treasures and choicest productions to Greece, Rome, Germany and England in Europe, to East Africa and to Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Burma and China in Asia long before the Christian

⁸ “ *Parasara Samhita*, ” Chapter VIII, p. 11-13.

⁹ *Sukra Niti*, Chapter II. Translation, by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, pp. 65, 78 and 81,

cra. In that institution there was no race hatred or antagonism, no conflict between labour and capital, no unfair and unscrupulous competition, no socialistic strike or lock out, and no lynch law or indenture.

Bhīṣma said to Yudhiṣṭra :—

"The king, O son of Pritha, should always conciliate and protect the Vaisya; take measures for filling them with a sense of security and for ensuring them in the enjoyment of what they possess and always do what they like."

"If a person engaged in agriculture, cattle tending or trade feels a sense of insecurity, the king incurs infamy thereby¹⁰."

In an appreciative article contributed to *The Madras Mail*, dated 16th February 1917, an "Anglo-Indian sociologist" rightly observes:—

"It seems to be the fashion nowadays to denounce the Indian caste ideal in season and out of season. As a student of the subject, I feel it my duty to say, with your leave, to all whom it may concern, that caste is, according to its latest and most authoritative exponents, merely a division of labour so kept up that each person is happy in his own profession and has his highest temporal and spiritual interests best served there, and does not, therefore, insist for a change. If caste is continuity of calling, it means continuity of national life. Whether as an ideal this is an attainable or unattainable one is another matter. But is there anything wrong in it? I would even go further and ask, can anything be more right as a scheme of social disposition? Having regard to the vicissitudes through which India has passed, would it have survived all these and retained its individuality and stability under any other social system? When this is the case, why do people persist in misunderstanding it and using it as a term of reproach?"

The learned correspondent's observations are no doubt correct so far as they go, but he has merely touched the outer fringe of the subject and has not dived deep into the fundamental basis of the caste system. Could any mere empirical division of labour have survived the cataclysmic changes through which India has passed during these thirty centuries and over? Surely not. The division of labour was not an end in itself, but was only a means to an end variable according to the practical necessities of life. According to Vishṇu Samhita, "To officiate at sacrifices and to accept presents (are the means of livelihood) of a Brahmana : to protect the earth is that of a Kshatriya ; agriculture, cattle tending, trade, usury and collecting seeds (are those of) a Vaisya ; all the arts (are those of) a Sudra. In times of difficulty, (however), the inferior callings (may be pursued by higher castes)¹¹". You may now deport a few hundreds of caste Hindus

10 "Mahābhārata-śānti Parva," Chapter LXXXXII-37, LXXXVIII-28. Manmatha Nāth Dutt's Translation, Vol. VII, p. 131-2.

11 "Vishṇu Samhita," Chapter II., p. 5 and 6. Cf. also "Manu Samhita," Chapter IV, p. 2.

of both sexes to Honolulu and make them work out their salvation there, and you will see that their society automatically splits itself into four castes, though all of them may work together for the common good of the entire community, adjusting or readjusting labour according to the needs of their new environments. You need not go so far out of India. You take the millions of Indian Christians of all classes and denominations here, and you will see that the bulk of them worship their caste system first in their hearts and in their homes, and Jesus only afterwards in their mind and in churches.¹² In spite of the demolition of the so-called caste division of labour and of the extension of the alluring amenities of a foreign social life, a Nāḍār Christian is still a Nadar, though he may be a Divisional Commissioner; a Vellāḷ Christian remains still a Vellāḷ, though he may hold a commission in the army; a Chetty Christian is still a Vaisya to the core, though he may be a Pariah priest; and a Brahmin Christian is still at heart a Brahmin, though he may stand upon a bench at a village or street tri-junction and preach the Gospel. You may vary the uses of the roots, the trunk, the flowers and the leaves of a tree ever so widely by physical and chemical manipulations, or you may even alter the nomenclature or the classification of the tree or of its several parts, but the tree will still retain its intrinsic organic properties. The moment, however, you graft into that tree a foreign plant of superior or inferior growth, you at once see that the tree undergoes a radical organic change either for good or for bad according to the nature of the graft. Thus, as in the vegetable kingdom so in the human species, a fusion of the races tending towards homogeneity can be effected only by this process of grafting, and not by the mere adoption of a European pattern of dress, nor by imitating the conventionalities of a foreign social life. They are after all mere time-serving and often hypocritical, but sometimes necessary, superficialities which one can conveniently borrow or lend or even discard at his sweet will and pleasure. A Brahmin I. C. S., man who has just returned from England after partaking of chicken broth and mutton chops at the Charing Cross Hotel in London, comes back to the Brahmin fold after taking some *Panchagavyam* and a sea-bath at Rāmēswaram to wash the sins of omission and commission committed by him during his temporary stay in England. A lieutenant in the Salvation Army remains still an Englishman or a Frenchman, though he may wear a Brahmin sanyāsi's garb and live on vegetarian diet.

Now of all the great nations of the world, the Moslems are perhaps the only people who have allowed full and unrestricted scope for the fusion of

12 "Indian Christian converts in some parts of the country insist on maintaining the distinction of their original castes, and in a recent case one caste of Indian Christians contested in a court of law a ruling of their bishop disallowing the exclusive use of a part of their Church to members of that caste."—"The Indian Year Book for 1915," p. 346.)

races among them without distinction of creed, colour, complexion and calling, and for the creation of a real brotherhood among them. A convert to the Moslem faith, from whatever race, class or caste he may be drawn, becomes at once eligible to marry the daughter of even the mightiest prince of pure Moslem blood, provided he possesses the other qualifications requisite for that exalted position. The Mahomedans absorb their converts into their society so fully and effectively as to make their brotherhood real and not masked. But then the indiscriminate promiseuity, with which this process of fusion was allowed by the Moslems to go on in India during the middle ages of her history, seriously affected the entire national physique, character and intellect of that great and illustrious community. In vain did they spend their predominant seeds on inferior soils freely, and even forcibly, occupied without *darkhāst* from amidst the lower ranks of the Hindu society and produced weaker and weaker sprouts. In other words, instead of uplifting the low, they in most cases allowed themselves to be dragged down to the illiterate level of the low. Fortunately the conditions of that community have now considerably improved, and it is a matter of sincere gratification to see that they are rapidly emerging from the intellectual thralldom into which they have sunk themselves, and that they have already produced several intellectual giants and leaders of society of whom even the most advanced Hindu communities may be really proud.

The early Indo-Aryans, however, foresaw the danger of such a promiscuous admixture of races and communities some 3,000 years ago, and they at once proceeded to frame rules :

- (1) for the prevention of encroachments by the owners of the several classes of seeds and soils one upon another ;
- (2) for the preservation of the conjugal rights of irrigation which the holders of each class of seed and soil under each sluice in the national irrigation work have acquired either by grant or by prescription and,
- (3) for the enforcement of the customary labour which each class or individual was required to contribute towards the repair and improvement not only of the sectional sluices and channels, but also of the national protective embankment. This was the genesis of the old caste ordinance framed not under the dictatorial mandate of a king or emperor but *by* and *for* the people and *with* their mutual consent. The working of the ordinance was entrusted to a national *pañchāyat* constituted, as already explained, on co-operative lines and completely free from official interference, and located not in a national or imperial audience

hall or court-house ornamented by gilded domes and turrets and guarded by the sentinels of peace, but in the conscience of each individual and around the fireside of each lovely home or hut. The success of the scheme gradually widened the *panchāyat's* sphere of operations and created numberless branch organizations, each independent of the other by laws and conventions suited to local conditions and peculiarities, but all affiliated to *almu mater*. There is, no doubt, a want of homogeneity in this huge organisation, but it should be remembered that homogeneity sometimes develops symptoms of gangrene within and undermines all top-heavy civilizations, while heterogeneity has proved to be a virtue of necessity and a source of strength in an ancient civilization founded on the bed-rock of communism and co-operation as opposed to individualism and competition. Surely the merit of the system lies in its very heterogeneity.

The general rules ¹³ which the ancient Hindus framed for the purpose of conserving the predominant qualities of the several classes of seeds and soils were—

- (1) No male member of a lower caste shall marry a woman of higher caste;
- (2) Members of the higher castes should ordinarily marry only within their own castes, but if they seriously wish to go outside their castes, their selection should be regulated by the following scale :—
 - (a) a Brahmin can have four married wives taken one from each of the four castes.
 - (b) a Kshatrya, three wives taken from the three lower orders.
 - (c) a Vaishya, two wives taken from the last two orders, and
 - (d) a Sudra can have only one wife of his own caste.

This was only an enabling provision introduced with a view to minimise violent abuses which might otherwise be perpetrated by the more powerful and influential classes upon the lower orders, but the concession was, with

¹³ This summary is taken from—

1. "Manu Samhita," Chapter III, VIII, X.
2. "Yagnavalkya Samhita," Chapter I.
3. "Gautama Samhita," Chapter VII.
4. "Vashista Samhita," Chapter XX.
5. "Vyasa Samhita," Chapter II.
6. "Sanka Samhita," Chapter III.
7. "Parasara Samhita," Chapter XVI.
8. "Vishnu Samhita," Chapter XVI, XXIV and XXXVI.

great forethought and ingenuity, rendered practically imperative by the addition of the two following provisos, *viz* :—

- (a) The wives taken from the lower castes shall not be eligible to participate in the religious rites and ceremonies of the husband's family, and
- (b) the offsprings of such unions shall be degraded to the caste from which the mother was taken and shall not legally inherit the father's ancestral property or enjoy his religious privileges.

Thus the provisos took away all the temptations to which the women of the lower classes in their desire to elevate themselves might otherwise be exposed, and the result was, as might be expected, that they rightly refused to make themselves parties to such insulting and degrading unions, a result which the originators of the scheme themselves devoutly wished.

Such in brief were the main provisions by which they preserved as far as possible¹⁴ the purity and integrity of the four great races into which the Hindu society was originally divided. The division did not rest there. The growth of population drove people of all castes to distant parts of the country, where owing to absence of communications they formed themselves into separate and self-contained units or communities with customs and manners peculiar to themselves. The clannish affinity created by such seclusion grew stronger and stronger with the differences that arose out of their migrations from place to place, with the result that we have now as many as 20,000 different communities with different *Kulams*, *Gōtrams* and *Sūtrams*. The division of society into so many clans and communes was not, however, peculiar to India. In Scotland,¹⁵ the Highlanders were divided into tribes or clans under separate chieftains, and each clan had its own branches from the main stock with separate sub-chiefs over them. These were again subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduced their origin from particular eponymous heroes upon whom they relied for their immediate protection. Next to the love of their immediate chief was that of the particular branch whence they sprang, and in the third degree that of the whole clan whom they were bound to assist, right or wrong, against any other tribe with which they were at variance. Thus arose the numerous clans and sub-clans known as the MacDonalds, the MacDougalls, the MacNeils, the MacLaughlans, the MacLeans, the MacMillans, the MacIntoshes, the

¹⁴ Here it should be admitted that there has been some admixture among Aryans and non-Aryans partly owing to local abuses incidental to every society and partly also to foreign invasions, but the admixture has not been so serious as to mar the essential race characteristics of the four great castes among the Hindus.—(R. S. V.)

¹⁵ "The Aryan Household," by W. E. Hearn, p. 114.

MacPhersons, and so on. In Rome, the Gens (Nomen) were divided into several cognominæ (Familiæ) and agnominæ (secondary Familiæ). The Virginian Gens, for example, were divided into two cognominæ or Familiæ, called Rufus and Tricostus. The Tricosti again were divided into three secondary Familiæ, called Cælemontanus, Esquilinus and Rutilus. The Servilian Gens also comprised two cognominæ, the Priscus and the Vatia, and two secondary cognominæ under each, known as Fidenas and Isauricus. Thus the name of the dictator P. Servilius Priscus Structus implies that he belonged to the Familiæ of the Structi who were a branch of the Prisci, a sub-clan of the great Servilian Gens, which tribe belonged to the tribe of the Ramnes, one of the three tribes of which the Roman State was originally composed. Although modern historians do not regard such a description with any great significance, still a Hindu can readily recognise in it the rudiments of his *Gōtra*, *Śakha*, *Kula*, Solar race and Lunar race. No person could enter a clan or leave it at his own will and without the consent of its members. If he sought to enter it, he must be accepted as a worshipper of the new family gods. In Switzerland, a more or less similar custom prevails even to-day. A Switzer cannot move from one canton to another as an Englishman does from one shire or colony to another. Each canton has its own property to which various lucrative incidents are attached. A tariff of admission to these advantages is in each case established, and each canton is worked, as it were, as a joint stock company. The Persians derived their three orders of priests, warriors and husbandmen from the three sons of *Zarusthrustra*, just as the Norsemen derived their three classes from the three sons of *Heimdall* (viz., Thrall, Karl and Jarl).

But the rapid decay of this archaic clanship in the West was mainly due to the fact that the European conception of marriage was entirely different from that of Indo-Aryans. The Hindus sought marriage not as in itself a good thing, but as a means to an end, and that end was the birth of a son. It is the son alone who can perpetuate the family and propitiate the family gods. It is for sons that their *Pitris* from their spirit homes do continually cry. It is the sons by whose hirth the father discharges his duty towards his progenitors and by whom he attains immortality. If a wife does not beget a son, the husband can marry a second wife in the eleventh year; if she begets only female children, he can likewise marry a second wife in the fourteenth year and thereby beget a son worthy to offer *pindas* to his *pitris*. The Christian nations have, on the contrary, no religious necessity for a son to offer *śraddhas* and *pindas* to the *Manes*. With them marriage is nothing more than a solemn engagement on oath between man and woman to live together happily in this world until death or divorce, which-

ever happens earlier, to bring forth legitimate children and to keep up the household. The Western couple marry generally because they love each other, while the Hindu couple love each other, because they marry to propitiate their *pitris* and be propitiated by their sons and grandsons when they attain spirit forms. Here in the Aryan household, love is subordinated to the religious needs of individuals and communities, and is subjected to the strictest discipline within the limits assigned to each community, and is never allowed to transgress these limits. Inter marriages between sub castes among Hindus are regulated by the principles of agnation and cognation. Agnation means relationship through the male line. It traces its descent through father and son, not through daughters. A man's brother's son, for example, is his agnate or *Gnati*, and his sister's son or his mother's brother is his cognate. The agnates thus form a part of the entire community of cognates. All marriages should take place within cognates, but no marriage should take place within agnates until the seventh degree, or until agnation becomes indistinguishable or untraceable. In other words, endogamy is the rule in regard to cognates and exogamy in regard to agnates. To the rule of endogamy an exception is, however, made in favour of those communities between which an alliance has been established and the right of intermarriage has by special favour been conceded; but such exceptions ought to be consistent with the sanctity and purity of the *Pindas* and sacrificial oblations offered to the *Pitris*. Thus each cognate group, of which there are now nearly 20,000, comprises a distinct class of seeds and soils for purposes of union. The members of such groups are of the same blood; they speak the same language; they observe similar customs; they have common worship and common rights. There is thus a strong sympathy between them and a tendency towards union. Beyond this there is no real difference between these numerous sub castes, and if there is any, it is only a distinction without a difference.¹⁶

This leads to the consideration of the question how, seeing that human nature is always the same medley of virtue and vice, of honesty and deceit, of

¹⁶ Here I may quote what Mr. J. C. Molony, I.C.S., says in his Census Report of 1911—

"The objections of the cultured Brahmins to intermarry or interdine with the rude, if estimable, *kappus* is not at bottom much more or much less strange than the prejudices which in England debar the duke and his tenant farmer from the intimate enjoyment of each other's society. Again, if Tamil and Telugu castes are more or less irrevocably distant, despite the fact that in point of social status and occupation they are resolvable into complementary groups, it may be observed that similar differences are common in Europe between groups identical in status and occupation but dissevered by the accidents of distance, language and race. The Tamil cobbler is distinguished from his fellow craftsmen in point of language and by the fact that distance, as a rule, renders intercourse difficult. Intermarriage and exchange of hospitality are almost uncommon between the English cobbler and the French Savetier."—(Census Report 1911, Vol. XII, Madras, Part I, p. 163.)

contentment and avarice, of humility and haughtiness, and of subordination and aggression in all ages and in all countries, and that its tendency has always been to evade or defeat the laws of the realm, this caste system, most of all, succeeded in controlling the sentiments and passions of a whole nation of apparently heterogeneous elements, *Sans* legislature, *Sans* courts, *Sans* magistrates, *Sans* police, *Sans* jail and *Sans* all. Human conduct is always regulated by three sanctions, *viz.*, legal sanction, social sanction, and religious sanction. Of these the first acts almost exclusively by penalties and punishments, which, although they are made applicable to all citizens alike, affect the uneducated and lower class far more than the educated and higher classes of society. But where the morale of the lower classes is low, punishments, however severe, fail to have deterrent effect. Social sanction, on the contrary, is somewhat more potent than legal sanction, inasmuch as it is based on the law of honour. Here, again, the law of honour may vary with the temporal fortunes and exigencies of communities. What is now regarded as an accredited vice may pass for a venial fault in the next generation and may even be put down as a virtue of necessity in the third. Thus, while the legal and social sanctions can to some extent control the actions of men in their smaller affairs of life, they cannot altogether prevent inroads into racial purity which is the fundamental basis on which the evolution of a nation depends. For this purpose, the religious sanction is the only potent and effective means.

Prof. Fowler ¹⁷ observes :—

“The religious sanctions of conduct are two, which I shall call the higher and the lower sanctions. By the latter, I mean the hope of the divine reward or the fear of the divine punishment either in this world or in the next; by the former, the love of God and that veneration for His nature which irresistibly inspires the effort to imitate His perfections. The lower religious sanction is plainly the same in kind with the legal sanction. If a man is induced to do or refrain from doing a certain action from fear of punishment, the motive is the same whether the punishment be for a long time or a short one, whether it is to take immediate effect, or to be deferred for a term of years. And similarly the same is the case with rewards. No peculiar merit, as it appears to me, can be claimed by a man, because he acts from fear of divine punishment, or from hope of divine rewards rather than of human rewards. The only difference between the two sanctions are, (1) that the hopes and fears inspired by the religious sanction are to one who believes in their reality, far more intense than those inspired by the legal sanction, the two being related as the temporal and eternal; and (2) that inasmuch as God is regarded as omnipresent and omniscient, the religious sanction is immeasurably more

¹⁷ “Progressive Morality,” by Prof. Fowler, p. 17-19.

far-reaching than the legal sanction, or even the legal and social sanctions combined. Thus the lower religious sanction is to those who really believe in it far more effective than the legal sanction, though it is the same in kind. But the higher religious sanction appeals to a totally different class of motives, the motives of love and reverence rather than hope and fear."

Manu and his coadjutors had made this identical diagnosis of human nature some three thousand years ago, and had decided that the best and most effective means to prevent the fusion of the four castes, and to compel them to perform the spiritual and temporal functions assigned to them, was to make the law of utility, the law of heredity, the law of honour, and the pride of race all rotate on the common pivot of religion. They accordingly dug a pit in Hell for every pitfall which man may fall into in this world and planted a laurel in Heaven for every virtuous deed which he may perform here; and by holding out threats of eternal punishments not only in the next world but also in successive births after deaths and by framing a code of Hindu law, imposing subtle penalties and far-reaching disabilities on even the minutest deviations from the path of rectitude indicated by them, they held together intact an apparently divergent and heterogeneous society for centuries together. Thus of the several basic elements on which the original caste system was built up, the eugenic element founded on the pride of race, clan and community has alone stood the test of times, so much so that a *Karaiattu Vellala* of to-day is as much proud of his descent from Kambar, as a *Thondaimandalam Valluvan* is from Thiruvalluvar, or a *Vadama Brahmin* from Atreya, and none of them would ordinarily be willing to hybridise his *kulam* and *gotram*. The pride of race predominant in the Hindus of all the four castes is not the political pride which borders on aggression, but the harmless social pride without which no society can exist or preserve its cohesion even for a day, and the history of world would have been a blank chapter.

The only real and formidable obstacle to the fusion of the four castes is the system of marriages prescribed and sanctioned by the ancient Rishis, and law-givers of India. The death-knell of the caste system can be rung only when intermarriages take place between members of all the four castes as well as the outcastes. But the question is whether it is within the range of practical politics. Such unions cannot have any *Shāstric*, or legal sanction, but can only amount to a permanent concubinage, and the offsprings of such marriages can only inherit the acquired property of their parents through the portals of a "Gains of Learning Bill" once more introduced, if necessary, into our Legislative Councils, but cannot lay their hands on their parent's ancestral property. It is extremely doubtful whether our modern legislatures

can throw aside our Hindu law altogether and frame a fresh code of substantive law for all Hindus. If they can, they must also deal the same death-blow to the Marumakkalthayam law, the Mahomedan law, the Zoroastrian law, the Jain and Christian laws of marriage and succession; for a Hindu may marry a Mahomedan wife, a Parsi may take a Jain girl for his wife, a Mahomedan may take a Hindu wife, and a native Christian may take a fancy for a Parsi wife, and due provision should be made for the offsprings of such unions in the Utopian code of a common substantive law for all Indians, including statutory Indians also. Can human ingenuity now invent a pickaxe to uproot this colossal caste tree which has been planted and reared by the ancient Aryan intellect, and which still holds its banner above the stormy revolutions of over thirty centuries? Surely not. It is "inexterminable by the sword and unalterable by the example of the conquerors".

By the ancient caste system, I mean only the four main castes and not the numerous subdivisions into which they are subdivided. To borrow a simile from the land system of Southern India, these subdivisions can to some extent be merged together by what is known in Survey as "the process of clubbing", i.e., by extending the sphere of cognation to groups of seeds and soils which possess more or less similar characteristics. But then as in the case of land, so in the case of the Hindu society, the holders of the smaller and more detached subdivisions will have just cause of complaint against this promiscuous clubbing, as they will then be deprived of the long established and customary right of obtaining remissions and preferments for intellectual waste and *shavi* on portions of recognised fields and subdivisions. If, on the other hand, you begin to alter the boundaries of the four main fields into which the Hindu society is divided, you will have to carry out a *de novo* resurvey of the entire society followed by a re-classification of the existing classes of human seeds and soils with reference to their germinal and economic values. Even so, such a resurvey and resettlement of the society can only proceed upon the existing data and cannot alter the intrinsic qualities of the seeds and soils. No one, not even a Sudra, who is possessed of some scientific knowledge and experience in 'germ culture' will ever plant his superior seeds on soils inferior to his own, or corrupt his superior soils with inferior seeds, simply because you have chosen to give a new name to a particular seed or soil, or no name at all; and the objection naturally develops into an abhorrence when each group believes that its soil and seeds are superior to those of any other group. At best, you can only produce from your photographic and lithographic studio a clean map and a land register omitting all interior details, but the inherent variations of the seeds and soils will always exist in some form or other, whatever may be the label you may put upon them; because no society is immune from distinctions, gradations, and groups for purposes of marriage.

Now in this connection it must be clearly pointed out that the religion and marriage laws of a people have never operated, and can never operate, as a bar against their steady political and economic evolution. In fact, Europe was steeped in a religious antagonism and class hatred of the worst type during the Middle Ages and was more caste ridden than India was at that time or even is to-day. Until recently, Japan was also groaning under the shackles of a bigoted orthodoxy and conservatism. But neither Europe nor Japan ever gave up its religion and marriage laws and customs to attain political and economic salvation. The material progress of a nation depends almost entirely upon its adaptability to co-operation and organization in all matters connected with its common ideals and objects, and what is needed to attain progress in this direction is only to liberalize the Indian social customs and institutions to the extent needed for that particular purpose, by weeding out the somewhat superfluous overgrowth of orthodoxy and custom so as to suit modern conditions.

SOME FORTS OF EAST MYSORE

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY THE REV. F. GOODWILL

Mulbagal

THE town and *droog* of Mulbāgal, in the district of Kolār, are very generally believed to derive their present name from components which give the meaning of "Eastern Gate." And the idea is chiefly connected in the common mind with the pilgrimage to Tirupati, which passed out from Mysore territory by this route. Considerable temples, tanks for bathing, and *chatrams* for travellers—religious plant which even in these days of rail pilgrimage is still put to considerable use—indicate how large was the pilgrim traffic in older days. But there is another sense and a truer one in which Mulbāgal might well be thought of as the Eastern Gate of Mysore. It must ever have been an important strategic point for the guarding of the Mysore plateau on its eastern side. From the south, west and east, the Mysore plateau presents a bluff high face to the surrounding country; it is between two and three thousand feet above the plains, and is approached by roads that wind upward among the guardian hills. On the eastern frontier there are two such passes, the Mūgli pass leading directly up from Chittoor, and the more rugged and less used pass from Gudiyāttam. The former tops the hills at Palmanēr, twenty-four miles directly east of Mulbāgal, the latter at Venkatagirikota, about twelve miles in a direct line from our Droog. There was no site of defensive importance anywhere between the heads of these passes and Mulbāgal. Hence Mulbāgal was strategically the eastern gateway of the Mysore territory; any force holding this rugged Droog could easily move to the defence of either pass. And no invading armies could afford to pass on into the vitals of the country without first securing Mulbāgal and thereby a safe line of retreat by either pass in case of disaster.

The Droog is not to be compared for bulk with some of the great strongholds of Mysore. It stands maybe some 700 to 800 feet above the surrounding plain, a single peak with rough boulder-strewn slopes which are uniformly steep on every side. The summit is perhaps a third of a mile, east and west, by about

a quarter of a mile north and south. There was but a single gateway, on the side overlooking the town, and immediately above the palace and its enclosures at the foot of the hill. The walls were stoutly built of hewn stone, and the bastions and towers are cunningly worked into the natural features of the hill, here and there huge single boulders being made to serve as part of the defences. The single line of rampart has suffered little from the passing of the years, but the buildings within have gone leaving scarcely a trace of the life and activities that must have characterised the place in the most stirring periods of its history. One piece of ruin is pointed out as the powder magazine, said to have been blown up by a lucky shot from besiegers below, or more likely exploded as the result of carelessness within the fort. In the later periods of its active service the fort appears to have been denuded of its guns, probably because they were wanted for service elsewhere against enemies pressing from the north. Major Dirom gives a careful list of the number of guns captured by the British during the war of 1791-92; two were taken at Kolār, four at Hoskote, and six at Hosūr, all forts much smaller and less formidable than Mulbāgal, but none apparently were captured with Mulbāgal, nor do we read of any use being made of cannon mounted on the fort in the bloody struggles that took place around it in 1768. Judging by the number of emplacements for guns on the walls, the number mounted must have been considerable at some time, and here and there the rocks are marked by the gunshots of besiegers.

The great anxiety of all hill forts in time of close siege must have been water. The designers of the defences took great pains to secure the retention and preservation of as much water as possible during the monsoons. We have no faith in the statements of permanent springs being found at the top of such rocky masses as Mulbāgal. Here there were two tanks called Lakshmana Tirtha and Rāma Tirtha respectively, which are said to have preserved a sufficient supply for the garrison. Judging by their present condition, they justify their euphonious names.

At the base of the hill on the south-west, the palace of the governor of the fort and surrounding country formerly stood. This was contained in a square enclosure surrounded by a fortification, and was entered by a stout gateway from the town. Only a few fallen pillars of the gateway remain to mark the fact that there was a lower fort in olden days, and very few of the townspeople know anything of its location or even of its previous existence. A rough path, a staircase in most of its length, led up from the lower fort to the gateway straight above it. The lower fort seems never to have had any great strength, the garrison invariably climbing into their eyrie above at the first pressure of an enemy.

But in the first Mysore War of 1768, the lower fort was of great service to the British, who were able to hold it while the main stronghold was still in the hands of Hyder Ali. But had the upper fort still mounted its guns as formerly, the lower fort would have been utterly untenable, though too far away to be troubled by musketry fire from above.

Eighteen miles to the west is Kolār town, an ancient site which has been the scene of great human activity for centuries past. From the beginning of the Christian era dynasty after dynasty, chiefly those connected with the Tamil country, held sway over the surrounding country with Kolār as the capital. There seems reason to believe that the history of Kolār and Mulbāgal have been very closely connected, with sometimes the one and at other times the other as the centre of authority and governing activity. It is likely that in those periods when the district was in the possession of a power that held also the Carnatic, the military importance of Mulbāgal would be emphasised, just as it was neglected when the Mahrattas from the north ruled the land. In the fifteenth century the district was under the authority of Vijayanagar, and the son of the ruling king was his viceroy living at Mulbāgal. Later in the century Timmē Gowda, also ruling in the name of the Vijayanagar king, made Kolār as his centre. It was then that Hosakote, the "new fort" was built by him half way, roughly, between Bangalore and Kolār. Some writers understand the "new fort" to be so called to distinguish it from the "old fort" of Kolār; I venture to raise the query if it was not Mulbāgal from which the glory was then passing, becoming less useful inasmuch as the line of government traffic was turned in another direction.

Bijāpur subdued the country in 1639, and Shāji, father of the famous Shivāji, became governor with his headquarters at Kolār. Another famous house was introduced to the district when Fateh Muhammed, father of Hyder Ali, represented the sovereign power with his headquarters at Kolār and Būdikote, where Hyder was born, as an outlying fort and occasional place of residence. When Mulbāgal was stripped of its ordnance we cannot say, but the course of history clearly suggests reasons for that action which had left it entirely to the defence of musketry by 1768. The rocks on the hill of Mulbāgal, both without and within the fort, are here and there marked with inscriptions. But none of them is fortunate enough to give us any valuable historical facts, though it was doubtless very important to their writers that so and so repaired this tank *bund*, or gave those lands to the temple.

We come now to the authenticated history of later times. The first fort occupied by the British in their advance into Mysore, in 1768, was the little outlying village fort of Būdikote, six miles south of Bowringpet, which



MULBAGAL. - Path to lower fort with droog behind.



MULBAGAL. - The gate of upper fort.

they had approached from the Krishnagiri side. It was a little-observed back door into Mysore territory. From Būdikote Colonel Campbell moved with a force to secure Venkatagirikota, a small mud fort without a glacis at the head of the direct road from Vellore, and from thence sent a force to hold Peddanāyakanēri a little way down the ghat. From Venkatagirikota he moved to attack Mulbāgal, but found that it was far too strong to fall to the light field-guns then in use with the infantry, as maxims or pom-poms might be used at the present time. He easily took possession of the lower fort and then moved on to summon Kolār, giving out that the attack on the hill of Mulbāgal had been abandoned. But what force could not accomplish, treachery and stratagem combined were to carry through. The governor of the fort was a relative of our ally, Muhammed Ali of Arcot, and he consented to betray the fort into British hands. Hyder Ali had given this *Killedār* command and authority to raise as many recruits for his armies as possible, preference to be given to sepnys who had been trained by the British and who might be induced to leave British service. The rest of the garrison still remaining true to Hyder, the *Killedār* gave out that two companies of sepoys with their officers and arms were intending to desert the British and to come into the fort one night to join them. Captain Matthews, later the ill-fated General Matthews who captured and lost Bednore and was murdered by Tippoo in Serangapatām in 1783, dressed and darkened to resemble a Subadār, headed the two companies of faithful sepoys who clambered up into the fort at four o'clock on the morning of June 23rd. They remained inactive till daybreak, then, after whispered orders had been circulated directing the attack, the grenadiers' march was beaten as the signal for the assault. The drums roused a garrison utterly unprepared to meet a disciplined force already within their walls, and the fort was secured without the loss of a single man. But what was gained by treachery and cunning stratagem was lost three months later by the cowardice and treachery of Muhammed Ali's men, who were then holding it for the British. They simply handed it over again under the slight veil of military pressure to Hyder Ali. Consequently, October 3rd following saw the approach of another British force operating under Col. Wood for its recapture. Col. Wood was a soldier who entered the Mysore War with a high reputation for activity and ability, but made a grave for it all in Mysore, as we shall see to some extent presently. After his bungling at Hosūr, and on his retreat from Bāgalūr toward Kolār, he was saved from annihilation by the timely arrival of Major Fitzgerald, who had hastened with a detachment from Venkatagiri to his relief. Hyder repeatedly declared that he would attack Col. Wood when and wherever he found him, but the senior Colonel of the forces in Mysore, Col. Smith, was a commander of such energy and genius that Hyder held him in as much respect as he held Wood in contempt.

Col. Wood easily regained possession of the lower fort of Mulbāgal, but was beaten off from the main fort with some loss. The next day leaving his baggage near the lower fort, without even ensuring its safety by placing it within the fort itself, he proceeded with two companies and a gun to reconnoitre, apparently, so far as the story indicates, on the west side of the hill. After proceeding about two miles from his camp, he saw a heavy body of about 3,000 cavalry and a strong body of infantry moving to encircle him. He galloped back to the fort for two more companies and another gun, commanded his baggage to be got into the fort, and made his way back to the scene of action. Hyder's whole army he found to be only a mile away, and from it reinforcements were sent into the fight. Hasty retreat was the only alternative, so abandoning his two guns he gave ground as quickly as possible. The ground was favourable to the small numbers of the British. Granite rocks and boulders of all sizes strewed the country, and among these all arms fought with great courage and tenacity. The Mysore troops had never been known to show such valour. But for one clever head among the officers of the British, which conceived and carried out yet another stratagem in this home of stratagems, they would probably have been wiped out completely.

Capt. Brooke, who had been severely bruised in the attempt on the fort the previous night, had been left with four companies and the sick and wounded in command of the baggage. He saw the peril of his chief, and saw it was possible to get near to the field of battle without being observed. He, therefore, collected all the forces at his disposal, and moved out with two guns dragged by volunteers till he reached the summit of a flat rock whence he would pour grape into the Mysoreans. At the first discharge every throat yelled "Huzza! Huzza!! Smith! Smith!!", making both friends and foes believe that the redoubtable Col. Smith, then at Kolār, had arrived to the rescue. Hyder's troops hastily fell back in every direction except that of the supposed "Smith", and time was given to the hard-pressed British to reform their lines and gain an advantageous position. Hyder soon discovered his mistake and attacked again, but as both his opportunity and most of his ammunition had gone, the day closed without serious resumption of the fight. The losses on both sides, about 1,000 of the Mysoreans and 237 British officers and men, indicate how close and fierce the struggle was. Hyder hung about Col. Wood until he was joined by Smith, on November 6th, but lacked ammunition to force another contest. When the two forces joined, attempts were made to bring Hyder to a general action, in the hope that a successful battle would make it possible to advance the siege guns, then at Kolār, for the capture of Bangalore. But Hyder's intelligence department was too well acquainted with the movements of the British forces, and his troops too vigi-

lant and mobile for the English commanders to carry out their plans for a general action.

Mulbāgal had no further part in the campaign of 1768. It was not till 1791, when Lord Cornwallis marched into Mysore *via* the Mūgli Pass and advanced for the siege and capture of Bangalore, that Mulbāgal, again, fell into British hands. Then it yielded at the challenge of the invaders, and was held as a post for the advancement of convoys from the plains with stores and provisions for the main army.

Bagalur

Bāgalūr is a village and *Maidān* fort about forty miles across country from Mulbāgal, half way from Malur on the road to Hosūr. At the time of the first Mysore War, it was in the hands of a small Pālegār who held it and ruled the neighbourhood under Hyder Ali. It could never have been strong enough for independent existence; probably its whole history was but local, though the remains of the palace in the centre of the fort show that its builders had some sense of the artistic as well as of their own importance. The fort is on a level with the surrounding country, and is about two hundred yards square. It had but one gate, which opened into the village close by. Lines within the fort show that at one time the central buildings were surrounded by some fortification, but of this only the inner entrance gate remains. There was a high cavalier at the south-east corner, and probably all the cannon that the fort ever possessed was mounted here. The village also was surrounded by a high mud-wall with two gates, one on the east and the other on the west, but as there was no provision made for the fire of its defenders, that wall was actually of little use in an engagement. There seems to be no history connected with the fort, so far as the present villagers know. It is amazing in this land of long memory that such a disaster as occurred here, in 1768, in the very streets and gateway that remain to-day should have passed entirely from local ken.

The British headquarters were settled at Būdikote, eighteen miles away, in June 1768, and from thence the operations, already glanced at, were for some time directed. Representatives from the Council at Madras came up into Mysore *via* Būdikote and joined the army, to the intense annoyance and hindrance of the field operations of Col. Smith. Shortly after the British occupation of Būdikote, Capt. Cosby was sent one night with a detachment to look up the forces of Hyder, near Bāgalūr, under the leadership of "Muckhdoom Sahib." Day dawned before Cosby reached his objective, and after a vigorous effort to get into touch with the enemy, he had to abandon the enterprise. So he called on the Pālegār of Bāgalūr, who did not oppose him, but eventually accompanied him to headquarters. At the same time that

he temporised with the British, the Pālegār secured himself with Hyder by reporting that he had been unable to resist the British and was, therefore, but awaiting the turn of fortune's wheel. The fort appears to have passed, without comment from the British historian, into our hands for the time.

In the following November, Col. Wood was in charge of the operations in Mysore during the absence of Col. Smith at Madras. Hosūr, at this time in our hands, was being besieged by Hyder. Col. Wood, therefore, marched *via* Bāgalūr to its relief with the substantial force of 700 European and 4,000 Indian troops. They had the usual equipment of field-guns and also two brass eighteen pounders. Bāgalūr was reached on November 17th. Col. Wood planned a night attack on Hyder's camp, about Hosūr; so he left his two eighteen pounders and baggage at Bāgalūr. The guns were too wide to admit of being taken into the fort, so they were left in the village with the mass of stores and baggage, the cattle being by the walls outside. The force left Bāgalūr at about ten that evening to march the eight or nine miles of easy country that lies between Bāgalūr and Hosūr. Somehow or other they took as many hours as miles, and did not arrive till seven the following morning at their objective. By that time Hyder had raised the siege, and was awaiting events. Col. Wood made no attempt to attack him or drive him from the neighbourhood. He went into the fort and busied himself making arrangements for the settling of his force therein. Messages were brought to him that Hyder was moving off, and warnings were given of his probable movements, but no serious attention was paid to them by this amazing commander. By two o'clock the sound of heavy firing was heard from the direction of Bāgalūr; Hyder had simply marched back on Wood's track to snap up the details and baggage left in Bāgalūr. Bāgalūr was being held by Capt. Alexander with a regiment of Muhammed Ali's, which seems to have behaved very well indeed. When Hyder's troops became visible from the lofty cavalier of Bāgalūr, the cattle were driven into the village under cover of the walls, and the walls, awkward as they were for musketry fire, were manned. Hyder advanced in several columns, with cannon, and with ladders to mount the walls. All his siege material, which he had been allowed to carry off from the walls of Hosūr, was at his ready disposal. Very shortly the enemy penetrated the village area, and the gates of the fort were closed and fastened, the sepoy's who were retreating from the village being drawn up the walls by ropes. But for this timely closing of the fort gate, the enemy might easily have entered with the retreating sepoy's, a manœuvre often practised by British troops during the storming of Indian forts. But, alas, for the villagers and large numbers of camp followers who tried to drive their cattle into the fort and to secure refuge for themselves! The gate was already



Monteale... - The north-west angle of the fort.



Bagat... - The village entrance east side.



Host... - Collector's house on rampart, with ancient temple in foreground.

closed, and numbers of men and animals fell and were trampled to death in the mad tangle of frightened things that crowded the entrance to the fort. No less than 2,000 of the defenceless non-combatants are said to have perished in the crush and by the sword. The whole of the baggage still left in the Pettah, and the pair of eighteen pounders, with 2,000 good cattle, fell into Hyder's hands. And when Col. Wood, roused at last to active pursuit, arrived at Bāgalūr, he had the mortification to see the rear of Hyder's column just disappearing toward Bangalore with the booty. But for the gallantry of Capt. Alexander's defence, the fort itself and its little garrison would have fallen to Hyder. Already the loss of camp servants and stores was very heavy, heavy enough seriously to cripple the operations of our forces, and later our troops had the further mortification of being fired on by Hyder from our own eighteen pounders, to which our light field-guns were not able to make any effective reply.

Col. Wood, leaving part of his stores at Hosūr, proceeded with his force from Bāgalūr toward Kolār. On the 22nd instant, Hyder suddenly appeared on his flank when he was believed to be twenty-five miles away in Bangalore. He was heavily fired on by big guns, among the dozen of which stood our own beautiful brass eighteen pounders taken four days before. Although our field-pieces were miserably outranged, Col. Wood remained all day wasting ammunition without making any infantry attack, losing twenty-seven Europeans and two hundred Indians in the encounter. The commander was witless and despondent, and his men had no confidence in their leader. There were only five rounds left per gun for his light artillery. Fortunately Venkatagiri sent help the next day, and the troops were drawn off. Major Fitzgerald, who had brought the force to Wood's relief, sent such representations of the case to Madras that Col. Wood was ordered there under arrest, and the chief command fell to abler hands.

It is curious to note that the Honourable Mr. Cust, in writing the history of the First Mysore War, tells the story of Bāgalūr as belonging to *Bangalore*. There was little reason for the glaring mistake, several checks could have been applied by the writer to save himself from the error. Fortunately the mistakes of the writers of history are rarely so serious as those of the makers of it. With the end of the First Mysore War all the British holdings in Hyder's territory were handed over again to him, and Bāgalūr falls entirely out of the stories of war and bloodshed. History or tradition have no more to tell, or I have failed entirely to learn, anything more of note relating to Bāgalūr and its fort.

Hosur

Hosur is on the road from Bangalore to the Carnatic *via* the Pulikādu Pass. It was more or less on this line of advance that General Harris moved

on Serangapatām in 1799. For scores of captured British troops, both European and Indian, it was in the war of 1780-84 the way of dolor and travail, being the route by which most of them were sent from the *Maidan* country into Mysore territory. We have more than one personal record of the miserable march in chains to a captivity almost hopeless. Hosūr was certainly one of the stopping places for such convoys of prisoners. It is roughly half-way between Bangalore and Krishnagiri, one of the most important of the hill forts guarding the Pass. Standing as it does at a considerable distance from the Pass itself, and within easy reach from Bangalore, it is not likely that Hosūr has ever been a very important pawn in the game of war. Yet as a post guarding the main road from the plains it could be a very useful place to a military commander.

The fort is a square of about a quarter of a mile on each side, standing flush with the agricultural land around. Its east side was protected by the town, a large tank from which its moat was filled guarded it on the south. The west was the only side from which it could be seriously threatened. Although it lies low and seems weak, the absence of any rising ground from which it can be commanded gives it a certain unexpected strength. It had but one gate at the north-east corner. Before the days of Tippoo Sultān there was but one line of wall and a single ditch. In 1791, he was anticipating the advance of Lord Cornwallis into his country by this route, and hurried the building of a second wall on the west side with another ditch. This was in an advanced state when a force was sent against Hosūr after the capture of Bangalore, as its present condition still testifies, but was not completed sufficiently to give hope of holding the fort against serious attack. There are tales current that the original builder of the fort was decapitated because he had erected it so near to the conspicuous hill to the east of Hosūr, on which the well known temple stands. But it is probable that the original builder, whoever he was, saw that hill before he marked out his fort. One of the early British writers about Hosūr remarks that there is a lofty hill "several thousand yards" away, but dismisses at once the suggestion of its being utilised for gun positions in any attack on the fort. When we remember that the guns of Tippoo and his contemporaries were effective only to about 2,000 yards, an outside shot being only 4,000 yards, and that the first batteries erected by the British at Bangalore for breaching purposes ineffective at 1,000 yards, we can spare any pity that we would have wasted on the supposed execution of the engineer who laid out Hosūr fort about two miles from the temple hill.

The history of the fort, so far as known to the writer, is connected entirely with the British wars in Mysore. It must be remembered that Hosūr, now part of the Salem district, was aforetime part of Mysore territory. It was separated

from Mysore at the peace of 1792, made by Tippoo with Cornwallis under the walls of Seringapatam, a peace so costly to Tippoo that he never ceased preparing to fight again with the British to recover his prestige and his dominions.

The record of its first capture by the British under Col. Smith, in 1768, is very brief. Col. Smith moved from his camp, near Būdikote, on the 3rd of July, and captured Hosūr on the 11th. Very shortly after the small fort of Ānekal, ten miles to the west, and the larger fort hill of Dencanikota, sixteen miles due south, were captured by Capt. Cosby, to whom we referred as first approaching Bāgalūr. While our headquarters were temporarily at Hosur, the British forces were joined by 300 men under Yunis Khan from Morari Rao, the Mahratta. The joint forces thereafter moved two marches north to Hoskote.

At Hoskote, Morari Rao himself joined Smith with 3,000 horse and 2,000 infantry, and it was their plan to push on to deal at once with the field troops of Hyder and also lay siege to Bangalore. But there was now a stay of operations for a whole month, a delay which must have fretted the spirit of the gallant Smith. It is desirable now to refer to one only of the causes of that delay. The battering train for the siege of Bangalore was still on the way from the plains. It was to move from Madras *via* Vellore, Venkatagiri, Kolār and Hoskote, but it never got further than Kolār. In August early, Hyder began to harass the camps of the English and the Maharattas at Hoskote, and a very interesting attempt was made by him one night to capture or slay the Mahratta leader. But the Mahratta showed that he was well able to take care of himself, and Hyder lost 300 killed and wounded to the Mahratta's loss of only eighteen. Col. Smith moved east again to effect a junction with Col. Wood coming up from Dindigul, and in the next few weeks some of the operations already referred to took place at Mulbāgal and neighbourhood.

In the meantime Hosūr was being held by a small detachment of British troops. Hyder laid siege to the place, hoping to be able to reduce it before relief could be advanced. We have already seen in the story of Bāgalūr how Col. Wood marched by night to relieve the fort, and how Hyder voluntarily raised the siege and rushed off to make hay elsewhere while his sun shone. The story of Hosūr, in 1768, ends so quietly that we hear nothing more of it.

We know nothing more of life here till 1791 when, Bangalore having been captured, a force was sent under Major Gowdie—probably the same officer who, as Capt. Gowdie, had been imprisoned during 1782-4 in Bangalore fort near the old palace—to take Hosūr and open the way *via* Pulikādu Pass to the Carnatic. He took command of the Seventh Brigade and reached Hosūr July 15th, 1791, one march in front of the main army. Anticipating strong resistance, he had with him four heavy iron guns,

two twenty pounders and two eighteen pounders, and four other guns throwing a twelve pound shot. It may be noted here that the eighteen pounder gun seems to have been the chief weapon of the British artillerists in those days. Heavier guns were in use for breaching purposes, but the eighteen pounder seems to have been the general-use gun, of service both in the field and in siege work. But the garrison ventured no resistance, seeing that the projected works were still incomplete. So they spiked their guns, burnt the carriages, fired a mine under the south-west bastion and abandoned the fort. Fortunately for the British the charge under the magazine failed to explode. Rāyakote and other neighbouring forts also were captured, and the way to the Carnatic was opened for the passage of stores and other materials necessary for the contemplated siege of Serangapatām. Capt. Welch with five companies of Bengāl sappers and some artillerists was put in charge of the fort. It was put in a state of defence, and the guns sent for its capture were put in place for its defence.

But the main army also, with Lord Cornwallis himself, apparently remained in the neighbourhood of Hosūr for more than a month. They were waiting convoys bringing the much-needed provisions and stores. In the middle of August a wakil, or envoy, arrived from Tippoo, but he was not received.

It was shortly after the fort was occupied by the British at this time that a journal was found in "a kind of laboratory, where the stores were kept," which gave the story of Hamilton who had lived and worked as a prisoner-carpenter in the fort from 1782 till after the capture of Bangalore. Then he and his fellow prisoners were put to death by the sabre, so that it might not be known to the British army that prisoners had been kept back from the previous Mysore War. The story has been told in detail in another connection, and need not occupy us long now. The graves of the ill-fated prisoners were opened, and their decapitated bodies confirmed the story of their fate.

Another story of the neighbourhood is preserved by Major Dirom, and it is interesting as being one of the few instances of villagers murdering British soldiers on their own initiative, without orders from the authorities. In a village near Hosūr two soldiers, who had gone beyond our pickets in search of grain, were captured by the villagers and hung together on one tree along with a dog, insult being added to this utmost injury. Their bodies were afterwards thrown with that of the dog into a grain pit, and there they were discovered by the army. Two old people who remained in the village, after the rest had fled, gave the story of their death.

At length the long-looked-for convoy came in to Hosūr from Āmbūr. It was headed by 100 elephants, marching two and two, laden with treasure. There were also 6,000 bullocks with rice, 100 carts laden with arrack, then believed to be essential for the health and strength of the British fighting man in

India, and thousands of coolies laden with stores of all kinds. It is worth noting that the road was capable, in the middle of the South-West monsoon, of standing the traffic of 100 laden carts in one line. Surely few roads in Mysore at that date or now would bear such a string of carts. But doubtless it was for something more than spectacular effect that the 100 elephants were sent in advance of the carts; 400 heavy flat feet must have done a good deal to consolidate the roads.

The supplies were lodged in Hosūr, and the cattle returned to bring in another convoy. By the middle of September the convoy had brought in its second load, but by the time it arrived the main army was again encamped in the neighbourhood of Bangalore. It should be remembered that, while heavy convoys of stores were being brought up the ghats *via* Hosūr, the Mūgli Pass was also being utilised at the same time for the passage of stores. Only flying columns of Tippoo's troops were abroad in the country to harass convoys, but these seem generally to have made their way safely from post to post till they landed their hordens with the main forces. The main armies of Tippoo were away in the country between Bangalore and Serangapatam.

With the close of the war of 1791-92, Hosūr passed directly under British administration, and so it has remained. Seven years later it again heard war's alarms, but heard them at a little distance. Tippoo certainly expected that the British would again establish a post at Bangalore in their advance on Serangapatam, and sent a force of 1,500 horse to Hosūr to watch the advance and to burn forage. Bangalore was dismantled, but it was still possible to hold the fort as a post. Kilamangalam, eight miles from Hosūr, was the nearest the British army under General Harris approached to Hosūr, then they moved straight across country, leaving "Ānicul" with its "good mud fort" on their right. And so Hosūr fort was again left to peace, and is now the very pleasant residence of the Sub-Collector of the Salem district.

REVIEWS

The Bhagavad Gita

BY MR. C. M. PADMANABACHAR, B.A., B.L.

THE "Bhagavad Gita, or the Divine Song", is one of the sacred scriptures of the Hindus whose fame has become deservedly universal. Its lofty morality and sublime philosophy have given it a prominent place among the literatures of the world. To love one's neighbour as oneself, nay, to extend that love to every living creature, to do one's duty without an eye to the result, to look with tolerance upon all faiths as equally acceptable to the Father of all beings, to control the mind and the senses and look upon the joys and sorrows of life with equanimity, to see the same merciful Being immanent in all things, directing all events, with ceaseless solicitude to uphold the cause of righteousness, and vanquish un-truth and injustice,—these are some of the central precepts of the Divine Song inculcated to man. Naturally, its catholic attitude has made a peculiar appeal to men of all persuasions, and its influence on human action is bound to last as long as man shall retain the moral instinct, and a love for true happiness, or the eternal well-being of the soul. Critics may point out some incongruities here and there, or claim that it particularly countenances one system of thought more than another; but none can deny the sublime principles of life and conduct that it teaches, or point out any obnoxious doctrine that it supports or sanctions.

It is no wonder, therefore, that this invaluable treasure of spiritual truths is held in high esteem by every section of the Hindus; and, accordingly, innumerable comments have been written on it by men with pretensions to scholarship, culture or devotion.

Mr. Padmanabhachar, B.A., B.L., has brought out a bulky edition of the first six chapters of the "Gita", with the Sanskrit original, and an English rendering of his own according to the interpretation of the Madhva school. In his critical remarks he compares the views of Madhva with those of the other schools of Indian thought, and endeavours to establish the superior reasonableness of the former. In introducing the work to the public, the author says, 'Unfortunately, Oriental savants of the West mistook Vedantism to mean only Advaita. They bestowed scant attention on the theology of Sree Madhva and hardly noticed it in their researches. When theosophy came to publish the glories of Indian antiquity, it also threw

dualism into obscurity. In the advertisement given by the new methods to non-dualism, Sree Madhva's theology went, for no fault of its own, into comparative neglect. Week after week, as I worked my way through Sree Madhva's commentaries and compared them with those of other schools, the feeling became strong in my mind that this system deserved better of the public, and that its languishing arose, partly at least, from want of presentment in accordance with modern methods. I, therefore, thought that no apology was necessary to give an English rendering to Sree Madhva's "Bhagavad Gita."

His motive, no doubt, is highly commendable, and he is only discharging his duty towards the founder of Indian dualism, in laying bare the precious truths lying hidden in that lore. Even a casual reader cannot mistake the tone of zealous devotion that characterizes the work. Whenever the comments of Madhva are given, their excellence is pointed out as well as the untenability of the position of those opposed to him. Being a lawyer, his competency for this sort of work is unquestionable, and he has pursued the task with obvious zest. With consummate skill he begins with the interpretations of alien thinkers, sets out their defects and raises in the reader just those expectations that are finally realized in the acceptance of the views of Madhva.

Mr. Padmanabhaachar must be regarded not merely as a keen critic and a powerful advocate but as a subtle psychologist. He knows exactly how to besprinkle his observations with clever words or phrases which stick in the mind and are more effective in felling the adversary than the most convincing arguments. His language, also, whatever its other faults, is fascinatingly clear, and his meaning unmistakably plain. Candour, ability, and industry are conspicuous throughout.

To us, however, it seems that the days have gone when this kind of polemic literature could be of any deep interest to the general reader. The public has learnt to exercise the right of independent judgment and of liberty of thought, even in matters of hoary tradition. Sectarian views and orthodox dogmas, merely as such, have lost their hold on the human mind. Priestcraft, scripture-worship have been once for all pulled down from the gaudy pedestals on which they shone hitherto, and from which they exercised their irresistible influence. Verbal controversies have lost their ancient charm, and blind faith in leaders as interpreters of divine texts is fast dying out. It is no more the vital question, how Madhva, Sankara or Ramanuja interprets a passage, but what substantial addition he has made to the stock of our knowledge with regard to the riddle of life.

We are hence inclined to believe that if the Indian thinkers have distilled from their sacred books any system of thought calculated to satisfy the aspirations, alike of the cultured and of the ignorant, it is likely to live, while sectarian doctrines must inevitably perish in the course of time. Still, as the world is composed of men and women infinitely varying in taste and capacity, every system may for a time flourish and be popular with those to whom it makes a special appeal. On the other hand, to expect that any sectarian literature will be fraught with universal interest is to build on the quicksands of veriest fancy.

K. A. K.

The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register

THE place of honour is given to the article on "Marabidiya Caves in Dimbula-Gala", by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., (Retired). The caves, two in number, were dedicated to the use of Buddhist monks by two royal princesses Chita and Abinpala in the early centuries B.C. The caves are connected by a path which was improved and paved with stone slabs by queen Sundara Maha Devi in the twelfth century A.D. In the inscription recording this event, king Jaya Báhu Vat-Nimiya is mentioned, and an interesting discussion about his identity covers a good part of the article and a fairly long appendix.

The Rev. S. G. Pereira continues his contribution on "Jesuits in Ceylon in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", which throws light not only on the zeal with which the Jesuits prosecuted their proselytizing labours but also on the inhuman methods adopted by the Portuguese in conquering the island. Two passages may be quoted in this connection:—

"Luis Teixeira and his men entered the heart of the kingdom committing such great cruelties—cutting children in two and severing the breasts of the women, a treatment which struck awe and terror into the people—that he was unopposed . . ."

" . . . It was thought necessary to put to death even those of tender age in order to prevent risings, lest when they grew up, they would think it necessary for their pride and honour to avenge the death of their ancestors." It is, however, pleasing to note that the ministers of religion pleaded for and secured the safety of life wherever possible.

Mr. Gunawardhana Mudaliar gives us a corrected version of the first few verses of "Kokila Sandesa"—a Sinhalese lyric modelled on the famous "Megha Sandesa"—and written in the fifteenth century A.D. during the reign of Parakrama Bahu VI. in commemoration of the conquest of Jaffna from the Tamil dynasty of Arya Chakravartis.

The rest of the number consists of notes, reviews and correspondence, some of which, however, have been included under articles. The notes form a very interesting feature of this Journal, and among the more important of them may be mentioned "Customs and Ceremonies in the Jaffna District," "Sinhalese Place-Names in the Jaffna Peninsula", "Two Buddhist Seals", and "Folklore of the Tamarind Tree".

A. V. R.

THIS Volume commences with a very learned article by Dr. Modi, reviewing the past and present excavations at Pataliputra and examining the question of the influence of Iran upon ancient India with the aid of Dr. Spooner's researches from an Iranian point of view.

Before discussing the researches of Dr. Spooner, the author gives an account of the history of the old city of Pataliputra and the attempts made to identify its site. Mention is made of legendary story of Pataliputra—the Indian Florence—as the city of the son of Patali, trumpet flower, and its history during the times of Chandragupta, Asoka, and after. Various authors have been quoted to identify the site of Pataliputra, of whom may be mentioned Mr. Rennell, the most celebrated English geographer, who identified the site of modern Patna as that of ancient Pataliputra, and Col. Wilfred who said that there were two towns Pataliputra and Palibotra close to each other exactly like London and Westminster. As for the excavations the author states that Col. Waddell identified, a quarter of a century back, some fragments of polished stones found near Patna as those of Asokan Pillars, and that recently Dr. Spooner found that they belonged to a magnificent Mauryan pillared hall whose columns had a peculiar Persian polish, whose plan was altogether un-Indian and which was subsequently destroyed by fire. Then follows the most interesting piece of study—an example of a learned wife's participation in the noble aspirations of her husband's life-work and study—when one finds that it was Mrs. Spooner that suggested to her husband the close comparison between the building at Patna under excavation, and Persepolis the palace of Darius in Persia. Taking the similarity between the two buildings as a working hypothesis, Dr. Spooner continued his researches from a literary view point, and started a new theory that at the beginning of the historical period the ruling Indian dynasty was Persian, that Chandragupta was a Parsi, that the Mauryan dynasty was a Zoroastrian one, that Buddha was an Iranian sage, that the palaces mentioned in Mahabharata were the Mauryan structures at Pataliputra, that Asura Maya the builder of Pataliputra was Ahura Mazda of the Parsis, and that Chanakya was a Persian at least by descent if not by birth. Then attempts have been made to trace references to Persia in "Rig Veda," and it is said that, according to Dr. Bruhnofer's theory, "the dog is Iranian therefore the second book of "Rig Veda" is Iranian". It is also mentioned that Buddha, Asoka, and Chandragupta, who were Buddhists as history knows them, seceded from 'the stock of their parental belief' and that Persians went to Orissa and Assam as early as 300 B.C., because the Jagannath temple record says that Yavanas invaded Orissa, and Yavanas were Zoroastrians according to Dr. Spooner.

Then Dr. Modi gives Iranian evidence in support of Indian evidence to support the theory of the presence of Iranians in India long before the Mauryan dynasty. The following are a few criticisms on Dr. Spooner's results by Dr. Modi :—

Dr. Spooner deduces the word 'Maurya' from 'Meru' of the Puranas and identifies it with Merv, the Mourva of the Vendidad, but locates it not at modern 'Merv' but at Persepolis. But Dr. Modi proves Merv to be the central Asian Merv.

Dr. Spooner compares Danavas mentioned in Mahabharata to the Achæminian kings, who called themselves Danghavyô. Dr. Modi proves that it is wrong to identify the two and shows that the Danavas may be same as the Danus of Avesta.

The article closes by making mention that Rajatharangini of Kalhana did not mention Mauryan kings because they were Persians, that Gandhara Brahmins were a class of Zoroastrian priests, that Atharvana Veda had a Persian origin, that Chanakya was an Atharvan priest, that the Magas of Bhavisbyatpurana were Zoroastrians, that Garuda of the Puranas was Garonmana of the Parsis, and that Saka Dvipa was Sekastan or Seistan of the Persians.

The close resemblance between the Mauryan Hall at Pataliputra and Persepolis makes it clear that there was mutual intercourse between India and Persia, and that foreign workmen built in India buildings of Persepolitan design as early as the third or fourth century B.C. It does not justify the conclusion that either Buddha or Chandragupta was a Parsi or that Mauryans were Zoroastrians. Neither there are positive literary evidences to prove it. No attempt has been made to find out whether Persia copied India or *vice versa*; on the other hand, Dr. Modi and Dr. Spooner have both started with a bias that the Mauryans kings had Persepolis as their model. The question as to whether there were any evidences for the existence of a characteristically Indian element in the architecture at Pataliputra has not been attempted.

It was quite common among the archæologists whenever they found Greek and Roman pantheons and Corinthian pilaster amidst the Buddhist stupas, like those of Gandhara, to jump to the conclusion that the early Indian arts and sciences were entirely under Hellenic influence. The article under review shows that in the time of Chandragupta, the Persian influence was most and the Hellenic influence least. How to reconcile the two conclusions?

It is true that archæology, the youngest of the sciences, is of invaluable help to history; but it is equally true that even the best experts are easily liable to mistakes in that science. Considering the difference of opinion among specialists regarding the figure of Arjuna's penance in Mahabaleswar carvings and of colonisation of Indians to Java as depicted in bas-reliefs of Borebudur, and the fact that no less an authority than Vincent Smith states that Sir A. Cunningham, the Director-General of Archæology, has throughout mistaken the Jain stupas for Buddhist ones, one can see how difficult it is to interpret the archæological evidences in terms of correct history. But Dr. Spooner starts with only one pillar out of a hundred or more as his archæological evidence and constructs a Persepolitan building in his imagination and concludes that Buddha 'the Hindu of the Hindus' was a Parsi, and that the ancestral home of Chandragupta was Persepolis. Never was such a revolutionary theory propounded with such slender evidence.

In conclusion, we remark that for the interpretation of works of art excavated or discovered in India, one must have previously studied Indian art, and that unless the importance of Indian philosophy and religion is recognised as a great creative force moulding Indian architecture, it is impossible to arrive at the true history of the country directly from archaeological remains.

The next paper is on "the Early History of the Huns". At first the Huns had their home in the steppes of Central Asia. When their vast empire, extending from the Caspian to the frontiers of China, was broken towards the close of the first century A.D., they began to seek new homes in all directions. In such a quest they had to come into conflict with China, the Roman Empire, Persia and India. The real cause of their restless wandering must be found in their land-hunger. Here we want to notice their relations with India only. It is already established that Skandagupta checked their advance only for some time (455 A.D.). Before long they carried off everything before them and established a kingdom of their own under their leader Toramana. This 'king of kings' and his son Mihirkula (510-528 A.D.) were intensely unpopular, and their power came to an end when the latter was defeated by a confederacy of two Indian kings Baladitya and Yashodharman, according to Dr. V.A. Smith. When we take into account the various evidences, literary and numismatic, we are led to the conclusion that it was king Yashodharman who broke the power of the Huns, and he was the celebrated national hero Vikramaditya. Another article of interest is by Mr. P. V. Kane on "Ancient Geography and Civilization of Maharashtra". It is a piece of research in a new field based on authorities from Indian and non-Indian sources.

The author says that there are no references to any place belonging to the peninsula of India in the ancient Vedic literature, and that the earliest reference pointing to the south is in "Aitareya Brahmana". He refers to Dakshinapatha of Baudhayana Smṛiti and shows that it corresponds to the Maharashtra of the present day. The earliest reference to Maharashtra occurs in "Mahāvamsa" the chronicle of Ceylon, where was deputed Thero Mahadhammarakkhita, a Buddhist missionary. A review on the various theories as to the origin of the name 'Maharashtra' follows, in which Rev. John Wilson's theory that the name had its origin in "Mahar", one of the lowest castes among Hindus, is shown to be absurd, and Dr. Oppert's theory that Mallas, Mahars and Mahrattas are same is shown to be based on no available evidence, and Dr. Bhandarkar's theory that Rattas—a wild tribe—became the Maharashtras is shown to be infeasible. Then the author gives his own theory that Maharashtra means a big country and shows that its boundaries, as given in "Mahāvamsa," correspond with those of the present Maharashtra. The three political divisions of Maharashtra seem to be Vaidarbha, Kuntala, and Maharashtra proper. The author tries to show with aid from Kautilya, Manu, and Sukra Nithi that the form of government in ancient India was neither that of a full blown democracy in spirit, nor of a merely tax collecting institution.

Memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

(*Zoological Results of a tour in the Far East*)

BY DR. ANNANDALE

WE acknowledge with thanks the above memoir from the pen of Dr. Annandale. We are afraid we are not in a position to review the work before us. The articles are so highly technical that a journal like that of the Mythic Society intended for historical research cannot do them sufficient justice to it in the matter of reviewing.

C. K.

The Annual Report of the Archæological Department Southern Circle, Madras, for 1916-17

THIS report which is profusely illustrated, contains interesting accounts of the fort and temples of Udayagiri in Nellore district, Buddhist monuments at Guntupalli in Krishna district, and the antiquities of Coorg.

From the inscriptions at Udayagiri, it appears that Krishna Deva Raya, emperor of Vijayanagar, besieged it in 1514-15 A.D., drove Prataparudra, a Gajapati king of Orissa, out of it, and carried away an idol of Balakrishna, which he consecrated in his own capital, *i.e.*, Vijayanagar. A point of some interest is that, in the heart of the Telugu country, like Nellore, a Canarese inscription on a hill, named *Vrata Gunda*, should record the capture of Udayagiri by Krishna Deva Raya, as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The most interesting part of the report is that which treats of the antiquities of Guntupalli. The special features of the rock-cut temple there are (a) the vaulted roof, domed and ribbed like an umbrella, and (b) the rock-cut horse-shoe-shaped facade of the temple. Mr. Longhurst fixes the date of this temple as 200 B.C., since it resembles the Buddhist temples of India in very early times. This view receives considerable support from an inscription found amidst a large group of stupas, mentioning the gift of a flight of steps by *Sanaala*—a female pupil of a Buddhist monk—and written in Brahmi character of second century B.C.

A curious suggestion of Mr. Longhurst in this connection may be noted. He says that the old Buddhist *chaityas* and palaces of the second century B.C., and of the earlier centuries had a great number of finials adorning the ridges of their roofs, corresponding to the Gopuras of the Hindu temples, and that similar things are not found in Hindu temples, until the sixth or seventh century A.D., *i.e.*, before the decline of Buddhism. Hence the Hindus borrowed the practice of constructing Gopurams

or *kalasams* on their temples from the Buddhist. But this view is not quite correct. The mere fact that the Buddhist domes and the Hindu Gopuras resemble each other does not justify the conclusion that one is a copy of the other. We are rather inclined to think, that the Hindu Sikharas or Gopuras were all so planned that their forms resembled those of the chariots, *i.e.*, Rathas or Vimanas of Gods as described in Puranas, and that the coincidence of the forms of the Hindu Gopuras and the Buddhist domes is more a matter of accident rather than one of the deliberate coping.

Among the antiquities of Coorg, nothing interesting has been recorded except that *Virakals*, *i.e.*, hero-stones like those of Nilgiris, are seen here and there, and that war-trenches named *kadangas* extend for miles through forest, encircling the hill-tops. The latter are peculiar to Coorg and Travancore, and were in existence in the Ganga period. These resemble some of the earthworks of the ancient Britons and form the most ancient species of rampart known. The bill-hook-shaped stones of Coorg seem to show a particular tribe of Kadambas, who used bill-hooks to tap toddy, probably the ancestors of the modern *Heggadigaru* of modern Coorg and Mysore. This view is strongly supported by a stone inscription, at Yadur of 1095 A.D. The rest of the report contains beautiful photographs taken during the year.

C. K.

Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of Burma for the Year ending 31st March 1917

THIS is a record of the joint researches of Mr. Taw Sein Ko and Mr. Duroiselle of the Archæological Survey, Burma. Though it mentions no important discovery of any outstanding value, still, it is full of many interesting facts regarding the *Talaing* inscriptions in the temples at Pagan, the South Indian influence on Burma from the fourth century A.D., the influence of Tantricism on Burmese Buddhism, and the town-ship and colonisation of *Prome*. Throughout the report there is a certain random disconnectedness of facts that might have been avoided, but which fortunately does not mar its value.

Oriental scholars are deeply indebted to the authors of the report, for the service they have rendered in preserving the *Talaing* language, one of the oldest in Indo-China, by compiling a dictionary and grammar for it, which onerous task they were enabled to perform, by their vast experience in deciphering the *Talaing* inscriptions in Burma. Mr. Blagden, by his splendid and daring achievement in translating the inscription in the old archaic *Talaing*—a language which was practically unknown—of the *Shwezigon* temple has fixed 1086 A.D. as the date of coronation of *Kyanzitta*, king of Pagan, and shown that *Srikshetra* (old *Prome*) was built just after the *Paranirvana* of Buddha. One point of great interest, found in

an inscription at the Ananda temple is the description of the ceremonies of coronation, which agree in every particular with those observed in ancient India.

Regarding the South Indian influence on early Burmese religion and architecture, it has been shown that *Rajendra Chola I.* overran Pegu as early as 1025-27 A.D., that thirty years later *i.e.*, in 1057 A.D., king *Anawrata* conquered *Thaton*, and that twelve years after that, Pegu was finally conquered by Cholas. It has been in a manner, proved that for five centuries, from the eighth to the thirteenth century A.D., *Kadaram* or Pegu was under foreign rule. It was during this time that the Siva cult was introduced into Burma, that the *Talaing* kingdom of *Thaton* was brought into political and cultural contact with South India, whose architectural models were imported into Burma. The *Manuha* and the *Nanyapa* temples were based on South Indian architectural forms like those of Mahabalipuram and Chengelpet respectively.

Though Burmese historians make no mention of Buddhism at Pagan, previous to the introduction of *Hinayanism* on the conquest of *Thaton* by *Anawrata*, it is clear from the frescoes in the temples of *Nandamanna* and *Payathonzu*, that *Mahayanism* was prevalent in Burma since the time of its introduction from Bengal, *i.e.*, sixth century A.D., and that about the eighth century A.D., consequent on the decline of Buddhism in India, it was profoundly affected by the Tantraism of Bengal with many of its practices like those of *Vamachara*, owing to Sakta influences.

Regarding the township of *Prome*, it has been already mentioned that the *Talaing* inscription at *Shwezigon* Pagoda shows that *Prome* was built slightly after the *Paranirvana* of Buddha. That it came under the influence of the Punjab very early, can be seen from the fact, that the *Saka* era of 78 A.D. adopted in India was introduced in *Sri-kshetra* (*i.e.*, *Prome*). The region round about *Prome* was named *Brahma Desa* corresponding to *Brahmarshi Desa* in ancient India. The striking resemblance between *Eravathi* (Irrawady) and *Iravati* (modern Ravi in Punjab) is to be noted. A further investigation into the relation between the Punjab Hindus of the Yajur Veda period and the city of *Prome* may establish its high antiquity. The most interesting point, in this part of the report, is the mention of an old bronze statue of the Buddha, at *Prome*, mentioned in the *Sasana-ramsa* in Pali. This statue, which was on a small mound covered with jungle till about 1850, was found to bear an inscription beginning with the words—*Idam Vanarasirathavasinaṃ puṇanathaya*—meaning "this statue is for the adoration of inhabitants of Vanavasi," the ancient capital of the *Kadamba* kingdom. Mr. Taw Sein Ko mentions that he also found, at *Prome*, an inscription in the ancient *Kadamba* character. These two testimonies show that the ancient *Kadambas* colonised *Prome*, one of the most important cities in ancient Burma. *Cambodia* was also very early colonised from Kanara. It may surprise the readers that the bronze statue is no longer to be found in its original place, and nobody knows anything about its whereabouts. It is rather unfortunate that the inscription on the statue has not been completely copied.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

THE September number of this journal opens with an article from the pen of Mr. V. H. Jackson on "Hiuen Tsang's route in South Bihar". The attention of the archæologist has been hitherto mainly directed to the fascinating problem involved in the determination of the true site of Kukkutapadagiri. Even in Buddhist time there were two rival sites, both of them being shown to pilgrims as Kukkutapadagiri. This problem can be very easily solved, if a satisfactory site can be proposed for the Buddhavana mountain. The real reason why the opinions of experienced observers as to the true sites of these places differ lies in the fact that the bearings and distances between Bodh Gaya and the Yashtivana given by Hiuen Tsang are wrong. The writer of the present article has conclusively proved that the Buddhavana mountain of the traveller must be identified with the Hanria Hill. When this identification is accepted, we can work our way backwards and can easily find out the true site of the Kukkutapadagiri.

Shams-ul-Ulma Nawab Saiyid Imdad Imam has given a short sketch of the life of the great saint of Bihar, Sharf-ud-din Alimad Makhdum-ul-Mulk, (662-782 Hijira). His genealogy can be traced to the grandfather of the prophet Muhammad. After receiving a rudimentary education at Maner, his birthplace, the future saint repaired to Sonargaon to complete his education under the supervision of Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Abu Tamama, an eminent scholar of that age. At last he went to Delhi in research of a spiritual guide, and Najib-ud-din Firdansi agreed to accept the spiritual allegiance of this saint of Bihar. On his way back to his country he spent some years in the Bihia jungle enjoying beatific visions. The remaining sixty-one years of his life were spent in his own birthplace in Bihar. The saint was daily lecturing on the Arabian Sciences of his age and was imparting a variety of knowledge to all who came to receive instruction from him. Though Sharf-ud-din Ahmad was a Sufi, he was free from all pantheistic views. He followed Sufism, so far as it prescribes that God must be loved above all things as He alone is worthy of love.

An article from the pen of C. W. Anderson on the "Prehistoric stone implements found in the Singbhum District" deserves our praise. There are extremely favourable conditions for the collections of the relics of another age without the trouble of much excavation. Nearly eighteen feet of soil have been deposited in this locality since its occupation by the stone-age-man. The implements collected vary greatly in size, workmanship, quality of material and treatment. There are, however, no two exactly alike, and many are the gradations between one type and another. For the most part the stones are fragmentary, and exposure to sun and rain seems to have cracked a large number. While some have been battered by use, many have been cast aside before completion. The age of the Singbhum relics rests mainly on the geologist's estimate of the time required to deposit nearly eighteen feet of the soil, as described above.

It is a pity that the limited space at our disposal does not allow us to notice in detail the rest of the articles of this scholarly journal. Mr. Surat Chandra Roy has given us a very interesting account of the social organization of the Birhors for the purposes of food quest, and we eagerly look forward to the appearance of an equally interesting account of social customs and manners of the same people in the next number of the journal.

H. K. R.

Report of the Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, for 1916-17

THE report before us contains 668 inscriptions secured and examined during the official year 1916-17, besides 238 inscriptions of the previous year. The stone inscriptions examined during the year under review mostly consist of Pandya epigraphs from the south, and some are dated in the reigns of the Chola. Paodya viceroys who were first appointed by the great Chola conqueror Rajendra Chola I. for the protection of the Pandya country, which was evidently then absorbed into the Chola empire. The Telugu inscriptions supply some information about the local chiefs, who ruled as Kakatiya subordinates in the Telugu country. Space forbids us to notice these in detail, but one cannot resist the temptation of giving some details of an inscription relating to the reign of the queen Rudramba found at Malkapuram in the Guntur taluk. The genealogical portion of the inscription supplies the interesting fact of the relationship of Pratapa Rudra to Rudramba, which plainly interpreted would be that of a direct son and not one adopted as the work *Pratapa-Rudriya* puts it. The donative portion of the pillar refers to the grant of a couple of villages to the great Saiva teacher Visweswara-Sambhu (1261 A.D.) Then we are given an account of the various charities of this teacher Visweswara-Sambhu. The provision for a maternity hospital and a college, as adjuncts of a temple, show the intimate connection that existed between these establishments of great public utility and a well organized temple. Music and dancing also received due patronage. The charities also include some provisions for the support of the village guards and artisans. A feeding house, in which the hungry of all classes from the Bramhana down to the Chandala were fed, was a special feature of the charities instituted by Visweswara-Siva, and this catholicity of the teacher is quite in conformity with the Saiva creed, of which he was a great exponent. Coming down to the Kannada records, we find that most of them are fragmentary and yet are of great historical value, belonging, as they do, to the early Pallava-Nolamba and Chalukya periods. The kings of the former dynasty, who were contemporaneous with the Gangas, seem to have been

good sportsmen and to have commemorated the death even of their hunting companions. We offer the Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy our hearty congratulations on the interesting finds he had the good fortune to come across during the year under review.

H. K. R.

The Indian Philosophical Review

Vol. I. Nos. 1 & 2

THE fact that the Review makes its appearance under the patronage of the Karvir Matta at once shows that an effort is being made to supply a long-felt need. Philosophical studies are generally considered not quite useful, and the remark is specially directed against Indian philosophy. The result has been misrepresentation by foreigners such as Dr. Macnicol, whose misstatements have been well exposed in a review of his book. These distorted facts, intensified by the ignorance and laziness of the average man, puffed up with a hopelessly incomplete knowledge of modern science, or blinded by the demands of orthodoxy, give a very mistaken picture of our philosophers and their works. The Review, by taking special care of Indian philosophy, will help to give them their due. The article on *Sankaracharya's criterion of truth* begins this desirable process and shows how that great philosopher is neither a senseless writer nor a blind follower of the Vedas, but a fearless writer who followed truth wherever it led him. The article on *The Psychology of the Upanishads* serves to give some idea of philosophical study in ancient times and how far they had advanced. The other articles help the reader to a comparative study of various theories. The article on *Philosophy and Life* fitly leads the Review. The popular misconception that there is something mysterious about philosophy ought to be no longer possible. The human philosopher, insignificant or great, has simply the normal human functions and exercises them in relation to normal human experience Philosophy is also characterised by its breadth of outlook for philosophy, it is axiomatic that no side of life shall be neglected, that no facts shall be arbitrarily excluded from consideration It is of importance to recognise explicitly that philosophy for us is human, the meanings we seek and find have reference to values which are values for men. These words vindicate the right of philosophy to be studied, and ought to induce all to study it. We hope that such a highly useful Review will be widely read.

H. S. K.

Saivalini

A Sanskrit Novel

THE book is a rendering from Bengali. The author Pandit Rajagopala Chakravarthi, Sarala Kavi Suri, a *Mahavidwan* of the Mysore Palace, and a scholar of repute in both Kannada and Sanskrit, is also a good student of the Bengali language. The interest attaching to the work is that it supplies a distinct want, and besides its other uses, so eloquently and convincingly pointed out by Diwan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarthi, Financial Secretary to the Government of Mysore, in his learned preface, it has the supreme qualification of an easy, readable style, strikes a new vein, and has untold advantages to the student population. The story is very interesting, and the several characters are well sustained. The author, who justifies the existence of the Pandit type, which has come in for no small odium at the hands of superior men with their undisguised contempt for anything Indian, particularly of Sanskrit, which savours to them too much of Brahmanism, will, we hope, with the liberal patronage of such discerning noblemen as Sirdar M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A., C.S.I., senior State councillor, who in no small measure encouraged the publication, come forward with more works of the kind, and prove to a grateful world the possibilities of Sanskrit, the rich heritage of the foremost of the human race.

K. R. K.

Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum

By J. COGGIN BROWN

THE catalogue describes in detail most of the prehistoric antiquities of the Indian museum collected by the officers of the Geological Survey of India between thirty and forty years ago; to which have also been added some specimens collected by members of the Archaeological Survey of India, a few having been obtained through the generosity of private individuals. What would have been a very dry document has been rendered exceedingly interesting by a valuable introduction which gives in brief the history of the findings. The collections come under all the four groups, commencing from the palaeolithic or rude stone age down to the iron age, which are now universally recognised as important stages of culture in the development of the human race. The interest lies in the fact from the Punjab to Burma, from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin, no part of India has not contributed its quota to these remarkable finds, and the Madras Presidency comes in for a good share of them. The book is amply illustrated, and we are made to have very clear ideas of the forms of these vestiges of humanity.

K. D.

The Esoterique of Holy Fire

BY SWAMIN A. GOVINDACHARYA

WE have been favoured with the October and November issues of the Journal of the Iranian Association, in which have been furnished the erudite contribution of Swamin A. Govindacharya on the "Esoterique of Holy Fire." The Swamin, by apt quotations, maintains that the theory of the worship of the sun by the Parsis, finds its support from the oldest scripture of the Hindus. The first symbol of the invisible deity is the sun, and fire is only another form of the sun, and the relation between fire and the sun is that of cause and effect. Though we are agreed so far, for there is nothing contentious, yet we think that to find a trinity in all faiths is rather peculiar, nay fanciful. The Swamin builds the theology of the Trinity thus : God (the Primary), the sun (the Secondary) and fire (the Tertiary), and not content with this he says the Primary is the Vishnu. What about Rudra whose form is no less effulgent than that of the Vishnu. As a profound Vedantin, the Swamin ought to have introduced only such terms as are acceptable to all. Again, there are funny interpretations made by the learned Acharya, as, for example, when he tells us about the castes of the gods ! *Agni* being of the first caste, naturally, therefore, the Persians, who are the only faithful worshippers of this god, are entitled to be considered as the Brahmins of Brahmin. Vedic texts, if they are consistently and constructively rendered and applied to bring about a common understanding amongst the various sectarians and followers of many faiths, are sure to command the respect of peoples other than Hindus. This kind of work deserves warm praise, but we would tell the Swamin pretty plainly that he need not labour to extract fanciful meanings from them to adorn a theory.

K. D.

Indian Philosophical Review

Vol. I. No. 2, October 1917.

THE October number of the "Indian Philosophical Review" opens with a very valuable article on "Naturalism or Idealism" by Rudolf Eucken, in which an answer is sought for the question, "Is man simply a part of Nature, or is he and can he become something higher than Nature?"

Naturalism contends 'that psychical life is a mere epi-phenomenon, as something which accompanies the process of nature and as an instrument for the preservation of life.' On the other hand, 'Idealism,' says Eucken, 'contends for the independence of the inward, the spiritual ; for the unification of the individual

phenomena of life so as to form a comprehensive spiritual world. It claims that the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, should dominate human life. To subordinate all human striving to the aim of utility, seems to Idealism an intolerable degradation. . . '

What has made man to pay more attention to the visible world, than to the invisible at the present day is the Natural Science, which with its doctrine of evolution has shown the close relationship between man and Nature. The co-operative spirit among men to improve the conditions of life and existence, making man feel himself 'to be a conqueror, even a creator' has also tended in the same direction.

The author contends that though man is closely related to Nature, he is essentially above it, and that it could not attain, even in our conception, its self-dependence, *i.e.*, its Independence of man, 'if thought did not assert an independence of the impressions of sense and place itself over against the environment,' and asks how, if a man is merely a process of Nature without any creative power, the superiority of man over it, which the achievements of modern industry show, can be maintained. Again, the tendency visible in the society towards the development of man's powers to the highest, so that he may be of service to all, is a direct refutation of Naturalism.

Without Idealism people will be spiritually destitute, and no amount of activity on their part can give them any genuine content. Besides 'there would not be the least ground for the inner community of life'. The author concludes by saying that the world is in need of Idealism, because now in the struggle for existence 'the meaning of life as a whole has become obscured for us, and our activity has no supreme ideal'.

Arthur Avalon in his scholarly article, '*Shakti and Maya*' (which should have been more properly *Shakti Maya and Prakriti*) has attempted to reconcile with each other the doctrines of Sankhya, Mayavada, and Shakti Vada. All the three doctrines have in common (a) a formless Consciousness, *i.e.*, a Supreme Being; and (b) a finitising principle. The article deals with the nature of the latter in each doctrine and mentions the various points of difference between them, *i.e.*, the *Prakriti* of the Sankhya, the *Maya* of the Mayavada, and the *Shakti* of the Shaktivada.

In his enthusiasm to reconcile the Sankhya with the Mayavada, the author has stretched the meanings of the Sankhyian doctrines beyond what is proper. According to the Sankhya, *Prakriti* is the original primordial *tatva*, *i.e.*, a reality, from which the Universe is born. Regarding the reality of the external world, Kapila affirms that the Universe was ever existent and that it was never created. The world is not unreal, and the Vedas do not establish the absolute negation of the fabric of creation. Under such circumstances, the statement of Mr. Avalon "that *Prakriti* ceases to exist for the Mukta Purusha" can only mean, that the latter is not fettered with the former during the state of Release, but not that the former has ceased to have an objective existence. According to the Sankhya, the Release brings about only the aloofness or the separation of the *Prakriti* from the *Purusha*, and the non-attachment of the *Purusha* to the *Prakriti*, but not the annihi-

lation of the Prakriti. Even after the release of a Purusha from the bondage, it is the activity of the Prakriti towards only that Purusha that has ceased, but not its activity towards the other Purushas who are infinite in number. One can therefore conclude that the Prakriti is an eternal reality and an independent entity. But what the writer seems to say is that, since Prakriti is as good as nothing to a Mukti, it is in effect same as Maya. It may be so ; but to understand it is an intellectual feat too difficult for us to attempt. However, considering the broad facts that Prakriti is a real independent and a definite entity and Maya is a not-real not-unreal, dependent and unexplainable something, the ordinary minds are more inclined to observe the points of differences rather than of similarities with reference to them. It can't be asserted that Prakriti and Maya are same, or that the former is the latter in disguise, especially in view of the facts that whereas the Sankhya Prakriti is an eternal reality, the Maya is an eternal falsity-reality, and that according to the Sankhya a thing real and unreal at the same time like Maya is an impossibility. Bondage and release is only to the Prakriti and not to Purusha according to Kapila. Is it so with respect to Maya ? The veil, *i.e.*, Linga Sarira that has separated from the released soul is a reality and an independent entity according to the Sankhya.

Again in the Sankhya, the doctrine of the Non-duality of the Self has been repudiated and that of the multiplicity of the *Purushas* established. Kapila has said in unequivocal language that even in the state of absolute release, *i.e.*, *Mukti*, there is no absorption of soul in Brahman. But according to Mayavada there is only one *Soul*, and in *Mukti* the *Jeevas* or individual souls are absorbed in that soul. Hence the doctrines of Sankhya and Mayavada are antagonistic to each other. But the reconciliatory author has said that, 'a Vedantic (more properly a Mayavadic) conclusion is concealed behind its (*i.e.*, Sankhya) dualistic presentment.' We not only fail to follow him in his arguments, but also feel that he is overreaching himself in his attempt to reconcile the divergent principles of the two doctrines by means of far-fetched interpretations. We, no doubt, endorse the author's opinion that, till now more pains have been taken to show the differences between the *Darsanas* than to find out the points of similarities, but we cannot at the same time overlook the importance of understanding and interpreting the doctrines of any school of thought, according to what its founder actually intended them to mean, since we believe that each doctrine has a merit of its own and has served a special purpose, for which it was intended, in the evolution of the philosophic thought.

In considering the points of similarities between the Sankhya and the Mayavada, it would have been better if the writer had pitched upon the nature of pain or bondage which is of the form of reflection of the nature of the soul, which is eternal, pure and universal, the composition of the Linga Sarira or the subtle body, and the process of creation. In conclusion, we should not fail to observe that, in saying that a Vedantic idea was concealed behind Sankhya, the author assumes that the doctrine of Maya is older than or at least as old as Sankhya, which is the oldest of the *darsanas*, and for which these are references in the Upanishads.

Next in pointing out the difference between Mayavada and Shaktivada, the author says, that in the former, *Maya*—the finitising principle, the veil over Brahman—is a not-real, not-unreal *unconscious* entity, associated with Brahman, but neither Brahman nor a part of Brahman; and that in the latter, *i.e.*, Shaktivada, *Maya Shakti*—the finitising principle, the veil over Shiva,—is a reality and *Consciousness* itself. He further says that in Sri Sankara's doctrine the spirit is 'vestured in Mayic falsities of mind and matter,' and the elimination of these happens, but in Shaktivada no such elimination of the limiting principle is allowed, since expressed in the form of an equation:

Jeeva = a spirit covering itself with its own Shakti.

The best part of this good article is just where the author attempts to show how, according to the Shakti doctrine, the supreme Brahman changes into Shakti (whereas, according to Sri Sankara, Brahman is changeless) and this *Shakti*—the Devi, the Mother, the Adya Shakti and the Kinetic aspect of Brahman—who is a reality and consciousness brings on unconsciousness to the Jeeva, whose body and soul are both realities and consciousness; for, according to the Tantras, Jeevatma is *Shiva-Shakti*, the soul being *Shiva*, and the body being *Shakti*. How to explain unconsciousness if all be consciousness? The answer is, "It is the function of *Shakti* to negate consciousness and make it appear as unconsciousness to Itself in order that it may enjoy dualistic experience. This is the eternal play in which the Self hides and seeks itself." Press the Saktavadin further to answer how Consciousness can cease to be such and turn into Unconsciousness. He says that it has not wholly ceased to be such. Why should it cease even partly? The safest answer has been '*Achintya Sakti*'.

It may be of interest to know why the self which is consciousness should desire the enjoyment of a dualistic experience, rather what it gains by that desire or experience, for the desire cannot be objectless; and why during that experience the Consciousness should transform itself into Unconsciousness, for the latter cannot bring any further happiness with it, but can bring sorrow. Similarly it may be enquired, whether Consciousness during the period of its transformation into unconsciousness is conscious of the fact that it has changed into unconsciousness in order to get a dualistic experience.

The conclusions of the Shaktivada are in direct contradiction to the Vedic texts, that propound in unequivocal language the duality of *Purusha* and *Prakriti* and the reality of both. If the Vedic texts had only permitted the Shaktivada, nobody would have welcomed them with greater pleasure than Sri Sankaracharya, since they would have not only strengthened his Advaitavada, but also removed the slight tinge of dualism about it. The mere fact that Shaktivada seems to be a purer form of Advaitavada is a matter of no importance to us, until the former is found to be consistent with the basic principles of the Vedas, especially in view of the fact that the Shakta Agama is supposed to be an original presentment of the Vedantha.

It is, no doubt, the author's metaphysical hunger for advaita, *i.e.*, unity, that makes him think that Shaktivada is an advance on Advaitavada. Carefully con-

sidered, according to the former doctrine, the supreme consciousness and the limiting principle are both real, and thus resemble the Purusha and the *Prakriti* of the Sankhya. This comparison gets strength when we observe that corresponding to the *Sakti*—a consciousness—which can transform herself into unconsciousness, there is the Sankhyan *Prakriti* which can bind herself by herself or release herself. So while attempting to show that Shaktivada is superior to Mayavada which, according to the article, is better than the dualistic Sankhya, the author is unconsciously making prominent the fact that the Saktivada is almost Sankhyan in its philosophical aspect and nothing more.

The general impression about Tantricism, of which Mr. Avalon is an enthusiastic and a fearless exponent, has been that it is a degraded form of religion sanctioning immoral practices under its veil. The author has not attempted to exonerate it from that charge, but he has indirectly shown that taking its philosophical aspect into consideration, it can attain a very high level and compare favourably with, or even excel, the doctrines of Sankhya or Mayavada. There is no doubt that the author has done good service to the Tantra Agama and the students of philosophy in general by his scholarly contribution, which has filled his heart and is a labour of love.

Professor R. D. Ranade of Poona continues his article on the 'Psychology in the Upanishads'. In trying to find a seat for the Soul, he quotes various authors ancient and modern. The writer says that, according to Aristotle and the Upanishads, the heart was the seat of soul and refers to the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, according to which the Soul in the heart moves right up to the skull. He doubts whether the Upanishadic philosophers knew anatomy sufficiently to understand the parts of a human skull. It is curious that the learned author should doubt so much, since surgery was known to India from the earliest times, and, more than all, the ancient seers knew most of the Nature's secrets by intuition.

Regarding the size of the soul, the author says that it is difficult to understand the idea of the Upanishads, and that even Sri Sankaracharya has found it difficult to explain how the soul, which is all pervading, could be only a span in length. It may be of interest to mention here that, according to Sri Madhwacharya, the different sizes of the soul refer only to the Supreme Soul and not to the *Jeiva*, who is atomic and constant in size. The author has shown quite well that as regards the view that 'the individual is a world in miniature and the world is individual writ large,' *Leibnitz* who said 'that each portion of matter may be conceived as a pond full of fishes,' was anticipated by the sages of the *Chandogya Upanishad* who said 'of the very kind as this outer space is, of the same kind is this internal space inside the heart; both heaven and earth are contained within it; both fire and air; both the sun and the moon, the lightning and all the stars.'

This article, which is an attempt to put in the modern garb the abstruse and the psychological points in the Upanishads, so far as it has been published, is very interesting and intelligible even to a lay reader. That in itself is a positive proof of the wide scholarship and the abilities of the author. There is no doubt that the articles, which will appear hereafter on this subject, will be as interesting and successful in the presentment of the Upanishadic thought as the one under review.

C. K.

The Mythic Society

R U L E S .

1. The Society shall be called the Mythic Society.

2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—

(a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects, more particularly in Mysore and South India.

(b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.

3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-President, a General Secretary, an Editor, an Honorary Treasurer, a Librarian, Branch Secretaries, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.

4. Membership shall be of two kinds—

(a) Honorary. (b) Ordinary.

5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons, who in the opinion of the Committee have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee, and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.

6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.

7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—

(a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.

(b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of our Journal is issued, by sending the second number by V. P. P.

Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona-fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Any subscriber on payment of rupees three per annum will be entitled to receive the Quarterly Journal of this Society.

8. The activities of the Society shall be as follows :—

(a) There shall be as far as possible nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.

(b) Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.

(c) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at twelve annas per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session, but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous July, and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.

(d) Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.

(e) The Society shall encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-Room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-Room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee, and duly notified to those concerned.

(iii)

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisition and obtaining order in each case.

12. The Annual General Meeting will be held as far as possible in July, when the reports and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members, and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of the Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being:

The President, the General Secretary, and the Treasurer.

A. V. RAMANATHAN,

Secretary.

The Mythic Society

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[No. 3

TOPOGRAPHY OF HALEBID

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY S. SRIKANTAIA, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

Origin of the Capital.

HALEBID celebrated in the palmy days of the Hoysala Empire as Dorasamudra or Dwārasamudra is situated in 13° 12' North Latitude and 76° 2' East Longitude. The common story of its origin is that the earlier Yādavas called it Dwāraka after its most famous namesake in the north, styling themselves at the same time Dwāravathipuravarādhisvarās. However probable, this does not explain the mention of the southern Yādava capital in the inscriptions as Dorasamudra. Besides, the Hoysala or southern Yādava kings were called Kings of Dora (ದೊರೆರಾಯ) by contemporary writers. This inconsistency in the inscriptions is attempted to be explained away by a reference to the Kannada language, suggesting that Dwāra is the pure and that Dora is its corrupt form in

Kannada ; but no textual authority can be found to reconcile the meaning of these two words. There is no rule of grammar in either of the Sanskrit and Kannada languages to connect them. Dora by itself means nothing, and can only be used as an Interjection or a proper noun. It is not unlikely, however, that the Yādava-Ballāḷas, after their incursions into the south and their power established in the country, renamed the old city after the famous Dwāraka, their northern capital. If Dorasamudra derived its name from the large number of gates and adjoining *thatākas* or ponds round its old fort, it does not explain the allusion in the early inscriptions to the place as Dorasamudra but never as Dwārasamudra.

It may be remembered that the Rāshtrakūtas came into power about 750 A.D., and their influence in the south continued till 973 A.D. 'At first the Hoysaḷas were feudatories of the Rāshtrakūta, or Chalukya kings.' The foremost of the Rāshtrakūta kings was Dora, Dhruwa or Dorappa ; able and warlike, he had conquered the Pallavas and imprisoned a Ganga king Sivarama, when the Gangas, who had never been conquered before, virtually became the feudatories of the Rāshtrakutas. This refers to about 803 A.D. A grant of 810 A.D. affords evidence of acknowledgment by the Hoysaḷas of the overlordship of the Rāshtrakūta king Govinda III. (794-814). Then, the earliest mention of the name Hoysaḷa occurs in a battle fought at Sirivūra about 950 A.D., between a Nolamba chieftain Anṇiga and Arakēlla's son, distinguished by the titles Samanta-Rāma and Nanni-Kaṇḍarāya and his grandson Poysaḷamāruga, Arakella probably being a Rāshtrakūta feudatory. Another inscription refers to the exploit of one Madhusūdhana, who, after obtaining a gift of some lands in Śaka 984, Subha Kritu, from Trailokyamalla, encamped on his way for many days at Beṇṇeyadaṇḍu. If Beṇṇeyadaṇḍu were no other than Beṇṇeguḍḍa behind the Hoysaḷa palace at Dorasamudra, then this Madhusūdhana might have been the descendant of the Yādava Krishṇa, who left Indraprastha (Delhi) in Śaka 890, Pingaḷa, and on his way to Ramēswaram halted for a day at Halebid, where, in pursuance of a dream, in which the Mallikārjunaswāmi of the neighbouring Pushpagiri hill appeared to him and asked him to build a town called Dvarāvathi and stay there, he built a fort and lived in it. This fort went into ruins after S. 920, on the death of the king owing to a curse of Rishi-Sringa. Thereafter, in S. 995, Śoobhakritu, Saḷa came from the north to Śāsakapuri, two miles from the ruins, and settled there. This, if true, improbabilises the identification of Śāsakapuri with Angadi in the Mudigere taluk. But, according to the Sthala Puranas, the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷas came from Dēvagiri originally in 817 A.D., and built a town on the Kākānadi which went into ruins after 860 A.D., owing to a curse, not of Rishi-Sringa, but, of Kālī, a goddess even now known as Karēguḍḍamma, south-east of the

town, two miles from Rājagērē, and that Hulikērē was the place where Saḷa was subsequently taught and where even now there is said to be a fort and sixteen temples inside a beautiful pond with characteristic friezes of the Hoysaḷa style. All these places mentioned above are in the vicinity of Halebid and once formed suburbs of Dorasamudra. These stories, taken on the whole, suggest that some adventurer, from the north probably, must have come and settled thereabouts, and that Saḷa, far from being an eponymous ancestor of the dynasty and the emblem based on a myth, was probably the real founder of the dynasty, his original capital taking its name from a hare which was actually pursued by a tiger, the latter being killed by Saḷa, and that the whole incident provided a banner for what afterwards became the most brilliant empire that ruled over Mysore. It is noteworthy that the country round is known as Malanīd, possibly, as is suggested, from the hare—*mala*, and not from the hill—*śaḷ*. Finally, the difference in the dates might be adjusted by referring some of them to the Vikramaśaka, as we know for certain that, at any rate, at first, the Hoysaḷa inscriptions mention the Vikrama years coupling them sometimes indiscriminately with the Śaka era, so that the year given after the figure does not correspond with it as we have found in the years referring to Vinayāditya I.

It should be mentioned that a most important contribution to this discussion has been made in a casual suggestion of Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar. He asks whether a certain Dora, referred to as having been killed by Bāchiraja in a Nagai record of the Nizam's Dominions, was the Hoysaḷa king Dhora? Now, if there were a Hoysaḷa king Dhora, he must have built the capital named after him. But if there were not, we will have to recollect that the Rāshtrakūta king Dhora lived about the time when, according to the traditional accounts of Halebid, the earlier Yādavas came from the north, resided near Halebid, and built a town named Dvārāvathi after its northern namesake, as mentioned above, and that this referred to the possible building of Dorasamudra by Dhora, or by a predecessor or successor in his line, or by the conquered Gangas in the name of their great conqueror. This theory gets over the inconsistencies in the inscriptions and does not refute the important argument that Dorasamudra took its name—late in its history—from the famous Dwāraka in the north, nor is it opposed to the suggestion that the Hoysaḷa-Ballāḷas probably renamed it as Dwārasamudra and called themselves Dwāravathipūravārādhisvarīs, because of the very fact that a Rāshtrakūta king had named the city after him. It also affords a clue as to how Dorasamudra became famous as Dwārasamudra in the later inscriptions. Considering that the Hoysaḷa-Ballāḷas were said to be ruling at Dorasamudra, being Jaina-Kṣatrias in religion, and having arisen on the ruins of the Kongu

kings, about S. 777 (Bhāva), as tradition asserts, the Dorasamudra of the earlier Yādavas was a heap of ruins known only by its name at a time when the later Yādavas, afterwards the famous Hoysala-Ballālas, came under Sala. They naturally did not understand the meaning of Dora, and may have thought, wrongly of course, that it was a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Dwāra, justified in it by the existence of the gates in the place and the ignorant suggestion of the villagers to that effect. Though this simple suggestion for the change was acquiesced in, the Scribes long accustomed to the earlier and correct use of the word, adhered to it, while the kings found it at first impossible to overcome their prejudices. Possibly also, the Hoysalas themselves, though well aware of the origin of the place, may have deliberately renamed it as Dwārasamudra after establishing themselves as an independent power. It is interesting to notice that Mr. Rice adheres to Dorasamudra. The objection to this suggestion is that the name of the Rāshtrakūta king *Dhira* is pronounced differently from *Dora* in Dorasamudra, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that the lapse of time and the prejudice of the Scribes was responsible for this difference as also for the changed pronunciation of the word by the villagers.

Physical Features of Dorasamudra

Dorasamudra which superseded Belur, which in its turn had eclipsed the earliest home of the Hoysalas in the Mudigere taluk, if Śasakapuri was Angadi, lay in a fertile country, fourteen miles from Belur and distant enough to be successfully attacked by the petty chiefs of the Ghats. It soon became the centre of a great and flourishing empire. Except on the north-east, *i.e.*, the Banavar side, surrounded on all sides by small ranges of hills varying in elevation from fifty to two hundred feet above the plains, the capital had a formidable barrier on the north in the Bababudans. On the south, a range of hills of considerably lesser elevation and importance but looking at the military tactics of those far-off days of not less value to the Hoysalas, the Sigedagudda range formed its southern and south-eastern boundary. The western side being a bit of open country necessitated the continuation of Belur as a capital from the military point of view. But the fear from this direction to the kingdom was not great; for there were the first and most loyal subjects of the empire and, besides, their boundary was on a line with the Ghats, while the petty feudatories themselves were so weak that they could not dream of seriously marching against the capital of their suzerain. Dorasamudra was again surrounded, at a more or less distance of a few miles, with little hillocks which, with the valleys interspersed between them, were of immense importance in the field operations of the thirteenth century and provided the pleasure-seeking monarchs with the necessities of the chase. The vast impenetrable

forests were full of wild beasts, tigers, deer and boar. The extremest limit on the east, *viz.*, the Arsikere range of hills, even now provide with good sport every distinguished visitor into the province. In the centre of a country, naturally endowed with mountain barriers and impenetrable forests, lay the capital of the Hoysala empire on a rich and fertile soil, where the supplies could soon be collected, communication and transit being easy.

To add to the natural wealth of the city, there were gold mines in its vicinity, traces of which may even now be found. Halebid is in the Hemāvathi river basin and hard-by runs a line of rocks supposed to contain ores of gold. A fine layer of gold-bearing quartz, known to geologists as the Dhārwar system of rocks, runs through Hārṇahalli on the one side and Ajjampur on the other, where attempts were recently made to work the mines. In other places in this region gold mines are known to have existed. Vast quantities of gold were required for temple building and public works, and must have been provided by the gold mines in the vicinity, but their traces are now lost, because gold mining being a royal monopoly, was kept secret.

Divisions

The ancient Dorasamudra had a fort proper, to which were added what we would now call suburbs. These suburbs have become independent villages and can only be recognised by the names they bear.

I. Suburbs

1. Bhairavesvaranagudda is a little hill south-east of the eastern gate of the old fort with a temple dedicated to the God of Destruction, Kālabhairava. The valley adjoining the hill forms part of the moat surrounding the fort and is the cremation ground. A road from the southern entrance of the old fort connects it with the town. South-east of the hill, and between this and the Tirumalasagar tank, lies Huligerē, where Saḷa was supposed to have been taught.

2. Rajanasiriyur, one and a half miles north of Halebid, was formerly the royal harem where the Hoysala royal voluptuary, Narasimha I, is said to have had 384 well-born women. Even now it is a big village with 1,000 inhabitants.

3. Govinapura, north-east of it, and

4. Karekattehalli in its neighbourhood are places where the Hoysalas had their royal *Karuhattis* for their cows and calves respectively.

5. The royal flower-garden of Huvinahalli lies two miles to the east of it, while

6. Aduḡuru, three miles to its south, was the Hoysala kitchen, where the great earthquake in the time of the Vaishṇava Constantine, Bṛiḥḍēva,

according to the Sravanabelgola Sthalapurāṇa, was felt in a place hard-by, a small gap in the hill being supposed to have been the spot where the earth had opened.

7. West of Aduguru is Rāsiguḍḍa, where in the reign of Narasimha I. there was a great famine. South of it is Rājagērē to the east of the Tirumala-sāgar tank, where the temple of Kāli or Kareguḍḍamma is located.

8. About three miles to the south-west of Aduguru, but only one and a half miles from the Halebid tank *bund* is *Vante Marte* being the stables for the Hoysala camels. The *marte* or hill is also famous for its pot-stone, with which the famous temples in Halebid and Bēlūr were built.

9. In Panditanahalli, six miles to the south of Halebid, lived the court poets and men of letters of the period. There is a small, neat, sweet, water well in the village which was at one time supposed to be a natural spring.

10. North of Panditanahalli, and midway between Panditanahalli and Halebid, is the great Pushpagiri hill, running parallel to the Bhairavēśvaranagudda. On the hill are two temples, one of which is bigger than the other and dedicated to Mallikārjuna. The temple is not built in the style indigenous to the country, nor was it built by Ballaḷa III, known to history as Mallikārjuna Ballaḷa, being a follower of Siva. Mallikārjunaswami is an important god in the neighbourhood, in whose name a big ear festival is held annually which attracts thousands of persons even from Coorg, in addition to a minor festival. Its undoubted antiquity is established when it is recollected that it was this god that, according to all accounts, inspired Madhusūdhana to build a fort at Halebid and live there.

11. Siddāpura is to the south of Halebid on the side of the road which leads to Halebid from the Hagare Travellers' Bungalow, with a four-pillared *Mantapa* at the entrance containing a few figures and some inscriptions. The village is peopled chiefly by Lingayats.

12. Due west of Siddāpura, and one and a half miles from it, is the famous Tirthamallēśvara temple built on a natural spring, from which there is a perennial flow of water. A little above the temple is a short series of tanks constructed about the time of Narasimha II, probably communicating with this spring. Below the latter and on a lower level is an octagonal fresh water pond connected with it by stone tubes. A tunnel, about three feet wide from this pond as the reservoir, appears to have carried the water to the Hoysala capital by means of stone tubes three inches in diameter, judging from the tubes of this description which are found near-about the temple and which were also discovered when the palace premises were dug up. Tradition would have the water supplied to the capital from Raṇagatta, three miles from Bēlūr, through a small canal, and Capt. Mackenzie suggests that from the cutting

near the sixteenth mile stone, on the Bêlûr Hassan road, must the channel have been led off, while an inscription of 1300 A.D. gives us a channel from the Yegachi River for the water supply of Dorasamudra. Putting all these together and considering the undoubted existence of stone tubes at the palace and in this temple surroundings, it be safely concluded that a channel from the Yegachi led the water to the tanks constructed above the temple, whence the water was carried in the stone tubes to the capital.

13. Mallapura, though outside the fort on the north, forms a suburb of Halebid, and, with Bastihalli, joins in the Halebid village union.

After describing the physical features and the suburbs of Dorasamudra which were of a character befitting the capital of a great empire, let us now proceed to take a glimpse of those parts of Halebid which even to-day are of absorbing interest to the antiquarian and to the visitor. I will begin with the old fort and will then describe the places of interest in three parts with the Travellers' Bungalow as the centre. The present Halebid will be comprised in the first, the second will take you to the ruins of the Hoysala palace and its surroundings, and the last will describe to you the treasures of the Hoysala art in ample space.

Fort Described

The old fort beginning to the right of the Belur-Banavar road crosses it near Thimmanahalli Katte and proceeds northwards, meeting the present fort near Bidarinakêrê; then from Somavârabâgalu it runs straight closely following the eastern side of the southern part of the present town and, past the flower garden it joins the big tank *bund* near its small waste weir. It rises again on the other side of the tank, and passing to the east of the Kedarêsvara temple runs southwards till the limit of Huligêrê is reached and afterwards turns westwardly joining the Katte-Somênahalli tank. It begins again and past the Chiknâyakanahalli border turns north half way and running straight meets the Vaddinahagalu whence it commenced. The circumference of the fort is roughly over six miles, and the walls are more than fifteen feet thick. It is difficult to speak of its formation though some say it had twenty-four, and others twelve sides, but the ruins themselves are unknown to most people in the locality. No mortar was used in their construction, a feature which recalls the Somanâthpur temple into our memories. The stones were cyclopean and put into shape so as to fit each other. Capt. Maekenzie suggests that, as compared with the temples, a prior and different race from the temple architects must have built these walls. Vishṇu-wardhana, however, has been credited with its building, and Vira Ballāla II. is said to have joined it on to the east of the waste weir of the big tank. There were twelve entrances to the fort with a *thatāka* or pond which provided the

passer-by with drinking water as well as a *diddibāgalu* or secret gate. A peculiar feature of the fort merits our attention on the south, west and northern sides between Thirumalasāgar and Bidarinakêrê. As though a greater and an artificial protection was necessary, because of the palace, we find three lines of fortification. It is only fair to add that they may have been intended to protect the crops from wild beasts, although, however, they provided the kings with the necessities of the chase, game being confined in the valleys between the hills upon which the fort walls ran. Somêsvara is the reputed builder of these paste forts.

Near the southern gate in the moat surrounding the old fort is a *vana* to the south of the Kēdārêsvara temple, in which the Lakkaṇṇa-Viraṇṇa temple is situated with an inscription of 1161, and three images representing the sister of Ballala III. with her two sons, who were executed on this spot in the year 1327. The important streets of the town of Dorasamudra were Gummēra Thiṭṭu, Sûlêrabidi, Patradavarakere and Layadasarige. A secret gate connected these with the fort and the palace on the east.

Dorasamudra Proper : I. Present Fort

In the first Part, in the fort proper, comes first of all the fort itself built about A.D. 1406, by the Vijayanagar Prouḍharāya. Beginning from the main gate it turns west till the Mādigakere or Pariah quarters, and then north. Leaving the Bidarinakere tank *bund* to its right, it goes as far as Somavārabāgalu and proceeds south till it crosses the Bêlûr-Bāṇāvar road. This fort is said to be the extension of a single street of ancient Dorasamudra called Kum-bārabidi (Potter Street), and with the *Pete* has a population of a thousand. This street escaped the doom of the capital for an interesting reason. When the fair sons of Ballala III.'s sister were on a visit to him on invitation by their uncle, Ballala's young wife having failed to seduce them, carried tales against them to the king, with the result that the youths were ordered to be executed in what is now called Lakkanna Viranna's *Vana*, and the people were prohibited from giving succour to their mother on pain of condign punishment. News of her sons' execution reaching the poor mother, she ran and ran in search of her sons, fagged and thirsty in her search, and nobody would, for fear of the king, give her water to drink. In this pitiable condition she reached the potter street, where a kind old potter offered the muddy water he had with him, for turning his wheel, to her to drink. Pleased with the toil-worn potter for his kindness and courage but extremely angry with the cruel-hearted villagers, she pronounced a curse that the whole of Dorasamudra should be plundered and destroyed on account of the iniquity of its king, but that the potter street with its hospitable inhabitants should grow and rise, because of the virtues and

humanitarian feelings of its people. In the result, the capital was destroyed, but the potter street remained!

The date of the curse is given as 1327 A.D., and it is significant that in that year Mohammed Taghlak sent an expedition to the south which razed Dorasamudra to the ground. After the destruction of Dorasamudra by the Mussalmans as a matter of fact, the potter street alone remained. In 1334, a breach was effected in the big fort near Dummikida Madu. It was known as Jir nabidu, worn out village, under the Vijayanagar kings, and was a *Katte-mane*. Possibly Chāmarāja, who conquered Belur from Perani Rāvata, in 1630, took Jir nabidu along with it. In 1769, Haider Ali effected a breach in the fort and, in 1774, it was under the Mysore Rajas, being ever since familiar as Halehid.

Inside the little fort are to be found (a) Ranganathaswami temple with a few friezes and figures taken from the numerous unfinished temples of the place; (b) Kāruvagallu Virabhadra temple in pure Hoysala style with a fine representation of Sala and the tiger with another temple near it and a pond; (c) Mallēsvara, the Lingayat temple, with a few unimportant inscriptions; and (d) Somavārahāgalu, the entrance to Bidarinakêrê, so called because the fort of Jir nabidu had only one entrance, and this breach in the fort was effected on a Monday by the Lingayats, who had fast risen in importance and wanted to carry their god from that side of the fort. The modern *Pête* is just outside the road, and here are the school, the cattle-pound, the police *thana* and the village goddess Vudusalumāramma. Within a furlong's distance lies the Travellers' Bungalow and hard-by the Hoysalesvara temple.

II. Other Places

Proceeding to Part II, the supposed centre of the Hoysala capital, is a little elevation known as Beṇṇeyagudḍa, known may be as Beṇṇeyadaṇḍu in the inscriptions and consisting of huge rocks. An underground cellar (ಸಿಂಸನಳೆ) of the palace has its entrance to the north of this hill, the stone being marked by a stone pillar. Then comes the Pirangi Bathêri, where the Hoysala battery was placed. On the hill, the entrance is marked by Anjanēya, and there is also the temple of Nadlugiri Māramma or Māramma of the Central Hill. To the east of Beṇṇegudḍa and enclosed in a fort, whose western side is Beṇṇegudḍa itself, are the palace fields, now ploughed and under cultivation, but upon which were formerly the Hoysala palace with the elephant stables on its right, and the royal mint and court hall on the left, the palace entrance being on the east. North of this hall and north-west of the Travellers' Bungalow, about two miles distant, are two little elevations called Ankaḍaguṭṭis, where under Vijayanagar kings, if the villagers were unable to settle their disputes

by means of the twelve Āyagars of the village, the litigants had to appear and swear in the name of their gods as to the justice of their cause, a proper verdict was given.

Ruined Temples

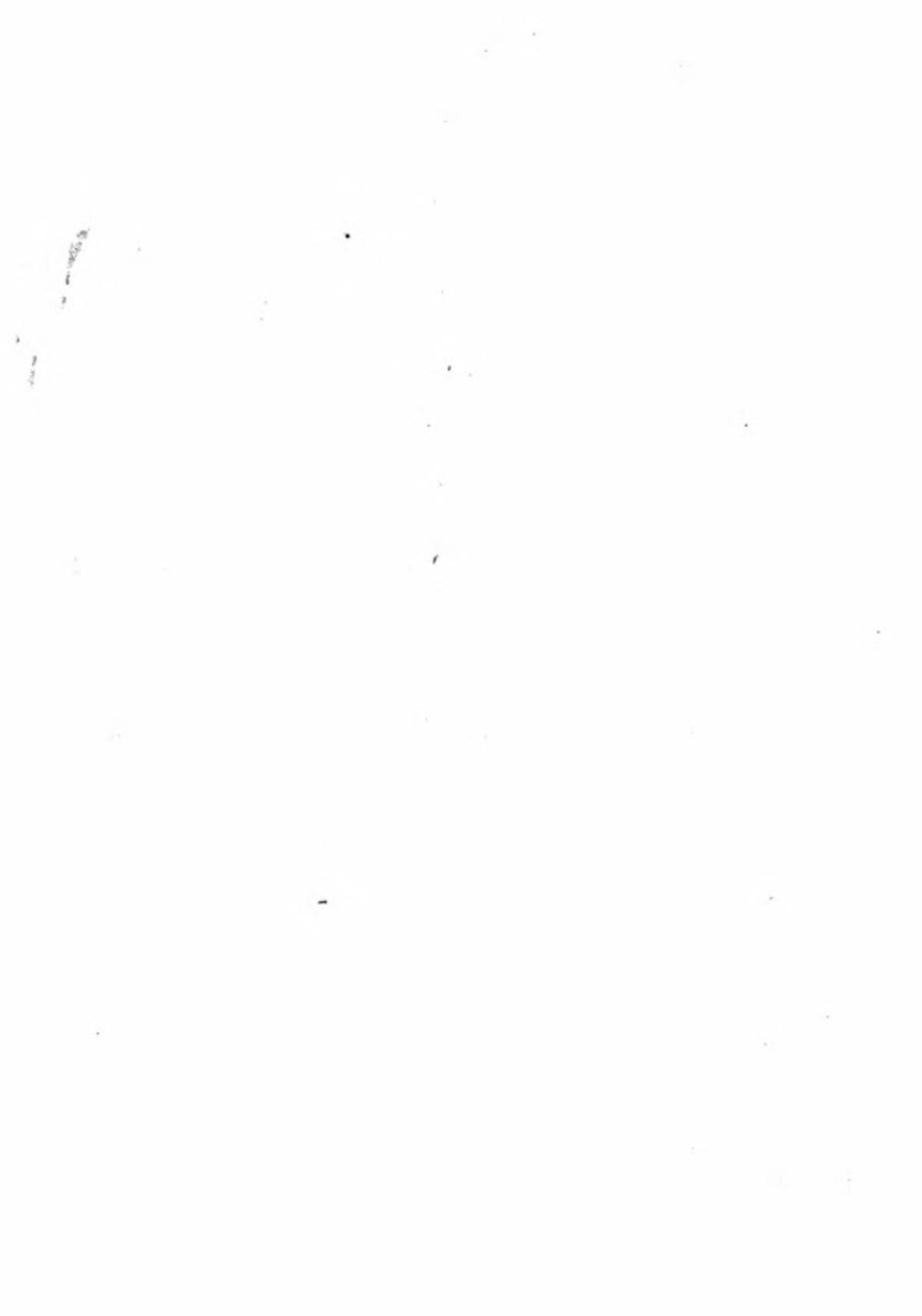
On either side of the foot-path, now leading to the Travellers' Bungalow from the old palace, are traces of numerous *bastis* and temples in ruins or steadily tending towards it, to wit, the Hupaseamarada *basti*. While some of the figures, and friezes of these ruined shrines were used in renovating the Kēdarēsvara temple, many were unfortunately removed in a clandestine way by curious visitors. Here are the ruins of the Sūlemaṇṭapa, where the royal courtesans danced on occasions of royal ceremonies, and also of the Nagarēsvara and Panchalingēsvara temples. Tradition tells us that only a town with 100,000 families was entitled to be called a *nagara* or city, and that the limits of such a town should be marked by Isvara temples of the finest workmanship. These temples are said to have been built by a *vaja* (a smith or mason or architect), who came with 12,000 cartloads of implements from the south, and was known as Dakaṇāchāri. Of course, you are aware there is no foundation for this, especially as the architects have most of them inscribed their names to their workmanship. According to another tradition, the multiplication of Siva temples was undertaken by Ballaḷa I as a cure for leprosy from which he was suffering. In the vicinity of these temples is also the Muthina Virahhadra temple, a peculiar little shrine with the Hoysala crest in form, and, apart from its latticed windows, there is nothing else to call the style Hoysala.

III. Halebid Temples

The last part which gives height and dignity to the greatness of the Hoysala capital contains (1) the big tank of Tirumalasagar, the supposed base upon which 770 Jain *bastis* existed from the seventh century onwards, the tank *bund* being made of materials of Jain and other temples which the Cholas were reputed to have destroyed. It has two waste weirs, and thousands of acres of land are irrigated by the tank. Near the corner opposite the tank *bund* leading to Vapte Marte is the Hoysala Summer Palace, now in ruins, built by Narasimha I; and (2) the magnificent workmanship of the Chālukyan, preferably, Hoysala art.

Whether the Architecture should be styled Hoysala

This raises an important question whether the style of these temples should be called Chālukyan or Hoysala. Our venerable President of the Mythic Society first questioned the correctness of the ordinary nomenclature of the style of these structures and suggested that it should be called Hoysala,



The idea was enthusiastically taken up and pursued to such signal success that Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar, besides becoming a convert to the suggestion, has embodied the name 'Hoysaṣa' as referring to these temples in his admirable monograph on 'Somanāthpur' and in the authorised annual reports of the State Department of Archæology. It is significant that two such high authorities, as the President of the Mythic Society, and the Head of the Archæological Department in the State, should place their seal of approval on the proposed change of name given to the style.

For a brief discussion of this question it is first necessary to put the incontrovertible facts together. Although it has been said that the Halebid temples must have been built before 1025 A.D., because they are Saivite temples or Jain *bastis*, authentic testimony will point to their building thus:—

I. Halebid Series

a.	Channakēshava temple,	Bēlūr	1116-17	Bl. 58, 71.
b.	Kirtinārāyaṇa	„ Talakād	1117	
c.	Hoysaṣeśvara	„ Halebid	1121-41	Bl. 105 finished in the latter year.
d.	Bastihalḷi	„ „	1133	
e.	Bhandārabasti	„ S. Belgola	1123-31	
f.	Gangādhareśvara	„ Sivaganga	1125-55	

II. Somanathpur Series

a.	Amritāpur	temple near Tarikere	1196	
b.	Kēdarēśvara	„ Halebid	1219	Bl. 115
c.	Harihar	„	1224	Dg. 25
d.	Koravangala	„	1173	Hn. 71
e.	Kikkēri	„	1171	Kr. 53
f.	Hānahalḷi	„	1234	Ak. 123
g.	Nuggihalḷi	„	1249	
h.	Somanāthpūr	„	1268	Dg. 36, Tn. 97.
i.	Turuvékérē	„		

The dynastic crest of Saṣa and the tiger is seen in a prominent position in front of all the temples built in this famous style. The oldest Hoysaṣa temple is that of Pārvathi, at Kuppatūr, between Shikāripur and Sorab, built about 1070 A.D., and probably the Kēdarēśvara temple, at Belgami, belongs to the same period, being inferior in design and in workmanship to the Halebid series of temples. They are followed by these temples above named, and hundreds of others studded in all parts of the country belonging to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the fourteenth century, the only temple built between 1336—1356, which corresponds to some extent with the style of these

temples, is that of Vidyāśankara at Sringerī. This last borrows the raised terrace, rows of animals, *purāṇic* scenes, large images and embankment in front to the towers from the Halebid temple style of architecture. The Dravidian temple of Ikkēri, in the Sagar taluk, has projection in front to the towers, perforated windows and ornamental arches after the manner of the Hoysala temples. After the Hoysala rule came to an end, no temple of this style was built, nor was any before them. Even as regards Chālukyans, building operations of this style commenced only after their acquisition of the Kongu country but not before. Their earlier buildings were Jain, and their latest at Kuruvathi belongs to 1189, so that architecture was a most flourishing and developing art in the Hoysala country when it decayed in the Chālukyan. The Chālukyan, like the Hoysala, began temple-building in the centre of power, extending it later on to remoter parts. 'A variety of the Chālukyan style was carried on by the Hoysala'—Rea. Yes, a variety which showed advance in the design of the temples, continuity of architectural details and excellence in workmanship to a degree that comparison between the two would be profitless to the style that may properly be called Chālukyan. The only other ground upon which this singular style of architecture, which is confined to the Hoysala country, should be called Chālukyan is that the Hoysalas were at first their feudatories. But we should remember we are giving the name to the style but not the Hoysalas in thralldom, and consistently with their greatness they may get a separate niche called Hoysala in the fane of architecture.

Description of the Hoysala Style

As regards the style of these temples, it may be remarked that 'no great space of time can separate any of them; their details, when minutely examined, are similar in parts, though they may be individual in instances, differently applied, variations in application being due to the originality of the workman. The main arrangements are described to be in three well-defined plans:—

'1. Plurality of similar shrines attached and opening on to an enclosed *mantapa* and necessarily facing in different directions, but with the principal shrine opening towards the east.

'2. Only a single shrine in the main building with an enclosed *mantapa* on its east.

'3. An advance on the second in that it has an open colonnade in front of the enclosed *mantapa*.'

The prevailing characteristics of the Hoysala style are the following:—The temples are polygonal or star-shaped, the sides being obtained from the points of a circle with an opening in the centre in marked contrast with the *vimānas*

of the Dravidian style which are square in plan. The porches that in the latter kind of temples immediately precede the door leading to the cell in this style consist of equi-distant columns. The roof is in steps with a flat band on each face in continuation of the large face below in the Hoysala style, while the *gopuras* of the Dravidian temples are the highest and most imposing feature of the structure. The Hoysala towers are pyramidal and are quite different alike from the pine-apple shape of the Ganjam and Orissa temples and, as stated, of the Dravidian structures. As a rule, the pillared halls, tanks, wells, and other buildings are not found in the compound of the Hoysala temples. The details of carving, pierced slab windows, richly decorated and different, variegated pillars, a raised platform for the temples, a few feet high and ten to fifteen feet wide, with friezes of animals, scroll work, *puranic* scenes and the rest make up the picture.

Origin of the Hoysala Style

It will be interesting to trace the origin of this style. It is said that the style had its inception in the early form of faith of its kings, and that, therefore, the Jain style must have gradually shaded into the Hoysala. Undoubtedly forms and features were borrowed not only from the Jain and Dravidian, but from other styles. The *vimānas* in South India are supposed to be copied from the Buddhist Viharas. The moon-stones of Anuradhapura in Ceylon and the Sangharama of the Buddha described by Fa Hian have the same animal friezes in the same order as are found on the parapets of the Halebid temples, except that the frieze of the ox are represented at Halebid by the *makaras* and are interpolated with the scenes of the Rāmāyana and the Mahabharata. Whether it is a debt due to the Buddhist cosmogony or the zodiacal signs or what else is difficult to conjecture, but the resemblance is none the less very striking.

Materials Used for the Temples

The material used for the temples is pot-stone or *balupam*, i.e., steatite, said to be soft when first quarried and to get harder on exposure to the air. The stones were first placed in form, left to harden and afterwards carved when they had weathered into beautiful shapes of brown. The enduring qualities of the stone are remarkable, considering that in spite of neglect for over six centuries, the minutest details are still as clear and sharp as when they were carved. The stone lent itself to delicate and finished workmanship to such an extent that the ornament could be attached to the masonry by the slenderest of stems, and the pillars could be turned on a lathe. It has been well said that no chased work in gold or silver could possibly be finer than the ornaments met with in these temples.

The Kedareshvara Temple

The Kēdārēśvara temple was built by Vira-Ballāla II. and his favourite wife Kētālamahādēvi about 1219, the name being suggested by the celebrated Dakṣiṇa Kēdārēśvara temple, at Belgamī, whence this queen came. Large endowments were granted to it in the following year by Narasimha II. and his mother. The temple now seen by the visitors is a renovated temple of what existed of old, and the work of the present masons has certainly added to the gloomy appearance of the temple. The plan of the temple is star-shape, with sixteen points and a porch with a conical roof. This 'most exquisite specimen of this architecture in existence and a type of its class is covered from the basement to the summit with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art, and these so arranged as not to interfere with the outlines of the building, while they impart to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Hindu art.' 'If it were possible to illustrate it in its completeness, nothing in India would probably show off to better advantage the capabilities of Chālukyan (Hoysala) architects.' 'By a curious coincidence,' the Kēdārēśvara temple 'was contemporaneous with the English cathedrals of Lincoln, Salisbury and Wells, or the great French Churches at Amiens, Rheims and Chartres, of course, without any communication. But it is worthy of remark that the great architectural age in India should have been the thirteenth century, which witnessed such a wonderful development of a kindred style in Europe'.

The Hoysalesvara Temple—Date of the Temple

The Kēdārēśvara temple 'is surpassed in size and magnificence by its neighbour,' which, 'had it been completed, is one of the buildings on which the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand.' This double temple, known as the Hoysalesvara temple, was built in the name of the king, in 1121, by a palace merchant Kētamalla. Of course, tradition would have us believe that this and other Siva temples were built by Ballāla I. to be relieved of leprosy, which was giving him trouble owing to the curse of a Brahmin and which could only be cured by resorting to Nūthanalinga *tirtha* daily. This temple and the Belur temple were built about the same time, the builders of this temple being—Manibālaki, Mabalā, Ballanna, Bochanna, Betaṇṇa, Bama, Bālali and Rēvoja—it being significant that it is only in the Hoysala temples of Mysore that the name of the sculptor is mentioned on a label below a figure. In the light of the correct information now available to us, it would not be proper to attack Mr. Fergusson for assigning wrong dates to these temples but for the conclusions he deduces from wrong premises. He observes that evidence of the downward progress of art, especially in sculpture, which is everywhere the characteristic of Hindu art is

afforded in this short series, viz., the Halebid, Bêlûr and Somanâthpûr temples. 'Though the design is the grandest,' we are told, 'the sculpture and details of Halebid are inferior to those of Baillur, and Somanâthpûr seems superior to both. We consequently long to trace back the history of the style to some more distant date, when we might find it emerging in purity and elegance from some unknown prototype. Unfortunately we are not able to do this.' I may remind you that Halebid, Bêlûr, and Somanâthpûr were built about 1121, 1116, and 1269, the last having been finished a century and a half after the first two. Thus, taking Mr. Fergusson's conclusions, we have to trace the progress of Hindu art from the Halebid to the Somanâthpûr temple and not its decay.

Why the Temple is Incomplete

The best view of the Hoysalêsvara temple can be had from the Travellers' Bungalow even where it looks as if the temple, after being finished, was pressed down to the ground. Probably if the *vimānas*, or pyramidal spires were set up on the several sanctuaries, 'the temple would have made up a whole which it would be difficult to rival anywhere.' This could not be done, owing, Mr. Fergusson would have us believe, to the Mahomedan conquest of 1310, by which time the temple had been in progress for eighty-six years. If this be true, Narasimha II. began its construction about 1224. When Vira Ballala commenced the Kêdârêsvara temple in Halebid about 1219, and the Somanâthpûr temple was finished in 1269, and when it is realised that the kings naturally increased the grandeur and wealth of their capitals before embarking upon it elsewhere, and that the magnitude of the task, the fine execution of the minutest details, and the distances at which these had to be undertaken, rendered it imperative that they should be done at long intervals of time, under different rulers and by different architects, may it not be further contended against the testimony of the inscriptions and in the light of the fact that the pot-stone was not available everywhere, that the Hoysalêsvara temple was stopped from being completed by the Mussalmans. Moreover, the completion of the Harihar temple 1224, Nuggihalli temple 1249, Turuvêkere temple and the Somanâthpûr temple 1269, give the lie to it. The same reply applies to the suggestion of Mr. Rice that 'the stoppage of the work of the building was probably due to the Senna invasions in the reigns of Narasimha III. and Somêsvara, followed by the removal of the royal residence by the latter, about 1236, to Kânṇanûr near Trichi.' The work must have been left unfinished owing to other causes. Tradition gives currency to a story, to us curious but usually found in Hindu folk-lore, that Isvara wanted to remove the Hoysalêsvara temple when the *vimānas* were built to their deserved place in Mount Kailâsa

on account of their greatness, but that the king, hearing of this, ordered the architects not to complete the *vimānas*, because then he would have lost the finest temple of Hoysala art. Then there was a prevailing superstition, still current, that religious worship should not be conducted in temples which had a crack in them, or where the gods were not unbroken wholes. For instance, the Kappēchannigarāyaswāmi Temple, in Belur, next the great temple there and in the same compound, has never known a worshipper within its walls, and naught but curiosity has ever taken a visitor to that shrine. In Halebid itself are several unfinished temples in that neglected condition. Most probably the architect found in this great temple a defect, and thought that, if the *vimānas* were set up, the structure would collapse and left it incomplete. This inference is strengthened by the supporting pillars erected between the two central porches by the Vijayanagar viceroy Proudharāya, about 1406, which are called after him.

Description of the Temple.

The Hoysaleswara temple is a double temple with an intervening cell enclosed in a compound about 220 yards square. The temple itself is 144 feet north by south, and 115 feet east by west, raised on a base five feet high all round. The height of the temple to the cornice is twenty-five feet. With the Nandimanjapas cut out from the plan and a line drawn about the middle of the two supporting pillars, each part would give an exact representation of the Bēlūr temple. As it is, in the inside, we seem to have a long and narrow passage which is made up of two chief central porches with the connecting covered veranda between them.

The temple has four doorways, two on the east and one each on the north and south, with 'beautifully sculptured lintels containing the figure of Tāṇḍavēśvara in the centre, flanked by *makaras* on which Varuṇa and his consort are seated.' There is one *dicārapāṭaka* at the northern doorway and two each at others except that the first doorway on the east has none. The side steps have two tower-like niches with two more opposite to them at same distance on the same level on the east, but on a lower level near the remaining doorways. The southern doorway has an additional niche in the right. A man is represented as stabbing two tigers on either side of him on the lower panel of every niche, probably to suggest the national incident and the sportive spirit of the age. The arrangement of the friezes on the *jagati*, or parapet is the same as in the Kēdirēśvara temple, though in the latter they were better carved. This runs along the whole of the east face up to the left side of the south doorway. Its height is eleven feet. On the base, about five feet in height, stands first the elephant frieze, about 710 feet in perimeter, containing about 2,000 elephants with mahouts and their equip-

ments. The perimeter of the Parthenon is less than this, and only 665 feet measured on the upper step. Next comes the frieze of the lions which might be called the *sardulas*, or the emblematic tigers of the Hoysalas, lions being unknown both to this country and to Ceylon, although found in the frieze and in the moon stone of Anurādhapura, and on this is a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design, there being in the middle of the scrolls *rishis*, *gandharvas*, *devas*, *siddhas*, etc., playing, enjoying, dancing, and so on. Above them comes the frieze of horsemen showing the armoury of the horse and the equipment of the rider, where you will observe the sword, bayonet, boots, coat of mail, etc. On this follows a frieze representing scenes from the Hindu mythology. Then come celestial beasts and celestial birds, the friezes of the *makaras* and the swans. You now have all along the east front a frieze of groups from human life, and then an ornamental cornice separated from a rail by miniature turrets of alternate lions and figures. The rail is divided into panels, each containing two figures. Above them are windows of pierced slabs, each window hole being six to nine inches in diameter. These windows are not so grand or so varied in execution as in the Eḷūr temple. In the middle of the east face, the friezes above the swans are replaced by a fine scroll followed by a frieze of gods and dancing girls of the mythology. These large images have ornamental pedestals and canopies, and are of man's stature in height. This frieze, which is very short on the east front, is continued on the west front to a length of nearly four hundred feet. "A person standing between the two great *vimanas* of the western face of the temple and looking around him probably sees a greater amount of skilled labour than was ever exhibited in a like space in any other building in the whole world, and the style of workmanship is of a very high class." In this big frieze, Siva and Pārvathi are repeated together at least fourteen times, and Viṣṇu and his *avatārs* about forty times. Brahma, Gaṇeśha, Sarasvathi, Indra, Garuḍa, Mohini, Sūrya and every god of the Hindu pantheon is represented in it. Some of these are "the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East." There is a plain cornice above this, and then "plain pilasters with ornamental gateway on the north, east and south faces, the whole surmounted by eaves which differ considerably in make from those of the rest of the east face. This anomalous structure, which encloses a small cell in the interior known as the dark room and is the only portion on the east face with a row of large images, must be a later addition." "The mode in which this east face is broken up by the larger masses, so as to give height and play of light and shade is a better way of accomplishing what the Gothic architects attempted by their transepts and projections."

The remaining part of the south, west and north may be referred to as the western front, where the frieze of large images is continued as mentioned

above. In the western face there are six car-like niches, about fifteen feet high, in two stories, on which only the first five friezes are to be found, the row of large images breaking off here, and each niche having two large figures on the outer right and left walls in both the stories. The *Puranic* frieze on the west front is replaced by standing figures with intervening miniature turrets, which may have been a later addition hiding the figures. There are one hundred and sixty-seven male and one hundred and eleven female figures on this front which far surpasses the east front. 'The variety of outline, and the arrangement and subordination of the various facets in which it is disposed, must be considered as a masterpiece of design in its class. If the frieze of gods were spread along a plain surface, it would lose more than half its effect, while the vertical angles, without interfering with the continuity of the frieze, give height and strength to the whole composition. The disposition of the horizontal lines of the lower friezes is equally effective.'

The small cell between the temples has a porch and two niches on both sides at some distance, opposite to it being the dark room enclosed by the buttress-like projection on the east. The two *mantapas* in front of the two main halves of the double temple have two *nundies* or bulls, one in each and are thirty-six feet by twenty-nine feet each. The bigger bull is thirty-three feet in circumference and the other twenty-six feet. The ears of the bigger bull are removed, and the story goes that there was gold inside the figure which was available to him who offered a sacrifice of a thousand animals, that the worshipper of the Sun in the shrine behind was customarily hanging his fish basket on the bull's ear, allowing the *gollā*, or cowherd to take a fish out of it on his return, and that one day the basket happening to contain a thousand fish, the *pūjāri* got the gold *varāhas*. Behind this bull, and the *mantapa* enclosing it, is a small shrine of *Sūryanārāyaṇaswāmy*, the peculiarity of the figure being that it gives a sound when struck as of bell-metal. There is an inscribed pillar to the south of the temple, on which Kuvira Lakshmā's offer of the springing-head is clearly discernible.

Temple compared with the Parthenon

Some interesting features of the temple were dealt with in dealing with the manners and customs, etc., during the period in a separate paper, and I shall pass on to a brief reference to Mr. Fergusson's comparison of this temple with the Parthenon at Athens, both of which 'form the Alpha and Omega of architectural design.' 'They are the best examples of their class, and between these two extremes lies the whole range of the art. The Parthenon is the best example we know of pure refined intellectual power applied to the production

of architectural design. Every part and effort is calculated with mathematical exactness, and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled. All the curves are hyperbolas, parabolas, or other developments of the highest mathematical forms—every optical defect is foreseen and provided for, and every part has a relation to every other part—in so recondite a proportion that we feel inclined to call it fanciful, because we can hardly rise to its appreciation. The sculpture is exquisitely designed to aid the perfection of the masonry—severe and god-like—with no condescension to the lower feelings of humanity. The Halebid temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy, scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith, or warm in human feeling, is found portrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little—less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon.

Bastihalli Temples

Midway between this temple and Bastihalli is the Viraktamaṭa, a small neat shrine built by Ballaḷa III for a Jain *guru* Chittārādhyā, who was defeated in 1324, in a council of learned men of all sects, but did not, like the other Jains, become a Saivite. In Bastihalli, in a big compound, are three *bastis* and a pond, the most important of them being that of Parsvanatha. It was built in 1133 to the memory of Ganga Raja by his son Boppa and consecrated by Nayakirti, the *basti* being named Drohagharatṭajinālaya. On the consecrated food happening to be sent to Viṣṇuvardhana, at Bankapura, when he had won a victory and had received intelligence of the birth of an heir to the throne, the king was so pleased with the Jain priests that he received with great regard the consecrated food and called the *basti* in honour of his victory Vijaya Pārsvanātha. The turned and polished figures in the *navaranga* of this temple give double reflections of various kinds, and illustrate the mathematical genius of the architects that built the temple, even though Mr. Fergusson would deny intelligence to the work of their contemporaries. In the big central porch are eight shrines, probably once the place for the Jain *thirthankaras* and sixteen pillars, besides a stout seated figure of Sarvāhna-yakṣa to the right of the inner entrance and a figure of Kushmāndine in the *sukanāsi* seated to the left. In the innermost shrine and behind another smaller porch is the Jain *thirthankara* Pārsvanāth, a gigantic image fourteen feet in height and absolutely nude in form, flanked by Dharanendra and Padmāvathi. There is ornamental beadwork on

the pillars in front of the *mantapa*, where on the upper step is Dharmēndrayaksha, Kālingamardanamūrthi. The adjoining Ādinātha was set up in 1138 A.D. by Heggade Mallimayya, while the Sānthinātha *basti* was erected in 1192, and contains inscriptions relating to Jain *gurus*. The figure in this *basti* is thirteen feet high and the same as Pārsvanāth otherwise. In the central hall or porch is the figure of a *guru* seated on his knee instructing a student.

[NOTE.—Mr. Fergusson's architecture in "Dhārwar and Mysore," and the "Archæological Reports of the Mysore Government," are freely used in describing the Halebid temples.]

It is hoped that the readers of this paper will take advantage of the earliest opportunity to see the famous temples of Halebid and Bēlūr, and realise the magnificent workmanship of Hoysala art.

HINDU AND BUDDHIST YOGA

BY C. KRISHNASWAMI RAO, ESQ., B.A.

*Nāsti Sāṃkhya samam gūḍanam.
Nāsti yōga samam balam.
Atra vah samsayō nā bhūṭ.
Gūṇam Sāṃkhyam param maṭam.*

(MAHABHARATA SANTI PARVA.)

There is no knowledge comparable with *Sāṃkhya*.
There is no power equal to *yōga*.
Here let there be no doubt in you.
Sāṃkhya is the highest knowledge.

“WHAT after all is the secret of Indian individuality? Not a dogma or a book, but the great open secret that all knowledge and all truth are absolute and infinite, waiting not to be created but to be found; the secret of the infinite superiority of intuition, the method of direct perception over the intellect, regarded as a mere organ of discrimination. There is about us a store-house of As-yet-Unknown, infinite and inexhaustible, but to this wisdom, the way of access is not through intellectual activity. The intuition that reaches to it we call imagination and genius. It came to Sir Isaac Newton when he saw the apple fall, and there flashed across his brain the law of gravity. It came to the Buddha as he sat through the silent nights in meditation, and hour by hour all thought became apparent to him;”¹ when these words were written by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami, the renowned art-critic of India, their significance was but rarely realised, and nothing was found in them arresting and sustaining our interest. Since then two philosophers in Europe have set forth similar views and revolutionised some of the thoughts and methods of philosophy. Regarding the problem of *Intuition versus Intelligence*, the great French philosopher Bergson has shown that mere intellect is no sufficient and ultimate guide in the understanding of the reality or the individual consciousness, and that by sympathetic insight one can get into the very heart of things. “The mind has the power of grasping by direct apprehension the reality of the universe as it is in itself, and before it undergoes the shaping, the forming, the framing, and the moulding which the

1 “Aims and Methods of Indian Art”: an Essay, by Ananda Coomaraswami, D.Sc., (London).

intellect imposes upon it, in order to fit it to serve the practical activities of our lives. This direct apprehension or intuition of reality is the method of philosophy."² Whereas the intelligence which is after all limited, gives us a knowledge *about* things, the intuition enables us to get, in a flash, *into* the heart of things the stream of reality. The 'thick core of reality' cannot be entered by mere intellect, but by a living and sympathetic understanding. Hence the method of apprehending the subject-matter of philosophy, *i.e.*, the fundamental facts of life and consciousness, is the method of intuition. Next to Bergson comes the German philosopher Rudolf Eucken, of the university of Jena, whose students are scattered throughout Europe, and who was awarded the Nobel Prize. He sees hollowness and bankruptcy of spiritual culture behind the present civilisation, and observes that its demands are in conflict with those of a spiritual life. He has severely criticised the materialistic view of life with its narrow and sordid interests, and shown the superiority of a life spiritually rich, over one full of 'peripheral interests,' *i.e.*, pre-occupied with the external world to an unhealthy excess. The spiritual life must be intuitively grasped (*a noological method* as Eucken put it),³ and realised in personal action (Eucken's 'Activism'). Mere intellect in trying to understand the ultimate realities is like a part attempting to value the meaning of the whole. Both Bergson and Eucken, as representing the tendencies of modern thought, are at one in their fundamental difference between intellect and intuition, and in the view that mere intellect cannot grasp reality from within. It need not be taken that either Bergson's intuitive method or Eucken's spiritual life is the last word in philosophy; but it can be safely asserted that they have much in common with the Indian philosophical ideas and methods.

The history of civilisation exhibits a periodic alteration between the extreme states of materialism and idealism, between a technical civilisation and a spiritual one. To-day the world is experiencing a movement away from earth-bound interests and thoughts, and towards a higher spiritual life. The doctrine of intuition of Bergson as a high road leading to the very centre of reality, and Eucken's 'cosmic spiritual life' with its reaction against modern science, have not only strengthened that movement, but also given a new orientation to philosophical ideas and methods, and even pulled some of them down from their pedestals and raised others from their graves. Besides they have given fresh impetus to the study of mysticism, intuition, and metaphysics. The writings of poets like Francis Thompson and Yeats, and the award of the Nobel Prize to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore for his mys-

2 "Philosophy of Change," by Henri Bergson : (Macmillan), page 19.

3 "Main Currents of Modern Thought," by Rudolf Eucken, pp. 56-61.

tical poetry, are but the surface ripples of the deep currents of philosophic thought running through the literate world.

At a time like this when mysticism and intuition are establishing their claims in the West, it is but in the fitness of things that a Buddhist manual of intuition—*Vidarsana Pota*—⁴ compiled for daily use in their meditative practices by the Ceylonese monks of probably the sixteenth or seventeenth century has been published by the Pāli Text Society, London. This book shows in detail the specialities of the practices of yoga, i.e., the science of intuition and the range of concentrative culture, as it existed, among the ancient Indian Buddhists. But it does not seem to be a complete or the identical treatment of the subject as taught by Buddha, and there is a certain amount of autumnal colour about it. However, it is to be considered as a valuable find, since it is the only book which has escaped the oblivion into which have fallen the other books on meditation. It is especially so, since the practice of yoga has now become nearly extinct among the Hindus and the Buddhists, and only a little of it survives among the straggling ascetics living in the villages and hills of South India.

The subject of yoga is one which the Western student of the East has hardly succeeded in understanding, since, as Mrs. Rhys David points out, 'his religious ideas have grown along certain avenues of language, so different from the channel therein presented, that it needs a powerful intelligence to see in it an intelligible effort towards a desirable end.' That Mrs. Rhys David under such conditions had translated into English a Pāli and Sinhalese work on a complicated subject like yoga is itself a testimony to the untiring energy and the supreme abilities of that orientalist. No less praise is due to Mr. Woodward, who has re-translated the same work and whose modesty is as great as his capacity and competence for the work he undertook. The value of the book has been considerably enhanced by a scholarly introduction from the pen of Mrs. Rhys David, the editor.

The text of the book has been entirely devoted to the instructions on the practice of yoga without any mention of the theory, and as such resembles a dry and highly technical modern text-book for laboratory use or reference. It is evident from its nature that it was intended for the metaphysicians living in an atmosphere of meditation. In India, knowledge of the kind that is dealt with in the book was rarely committed to writing but handed down orally from father to son, or from a teacher to his disciple, as the mystical practices on the part of the student required the constant attendance or at least a close superintendence of the preceptor. Like Plato, it was thought

⁴ "Manual of a Mystic," by F. L. Woodward: (Oxford University Press).

that philosophy cannot be directly learnt from books. But Tathagatha⁵ declared that he had not a "teacher's fist," now opening and now closing, in respect of knowledge, and the spiritual practices that he prescribed were not as rigorous or mortifying as the Indian ones. But for this characteristic of Buddhism, the oral instructions on yoga would not have been committed to writing in books, nor would their contents have formed a part of the world's knowledge. Whether the practice of Buddhist yoga will bear further fruits is somewhat difficult to say, but there can be no denying of the many signs of its past fecundity. To a student of Indian philosophy and psychology the study of yoga is of utmost importance, especially since it deals with a system of training the mind and the heart elaborated on the basis of certain scientific principles. Yoga is a practical philosophy that asks one to *experiment*. How practical it was can be seen from the fact that the science of chemistry in ancient India was an off-shoot of the *Tantras* which had their origin in yoga. This has been clearly shown by Dr. P. C. Ray in his researches in connection with ancient Hindu chemistry. Yoga stands as a testimony to the existence of a practical or applied science among the ancient Hindus, and as a direct refutation of the speculative theory of the character of the Hindu mind. Dr. Mackichan, in his opening address before the physics and mathematics section of the Indian Science Congress in 1917, said, "It would rather seem to be true that the bent of the Hindu mind was towards the practical and not towards the merely speculative. He had sometimes wondered whether they might not discern, even in the strictly philosophical efforts of thought of India, something of the practical purpose which ran through its mathematical achievements. Indian philosophy was no mere speculative exercise. It was not pursued simply to satisfy intellectual craving. It was something pursued with a view to the practical ends of religious life."

Indian yoga is essentially a science of applied psychology in relation to metaphysics, intended to realise by intuition practices the theoretical teachings of its sister science *Sāmkhya*. It is difficult to decide when this science first flashed in the human brain; but Yāgñavalkya Smṛithi mentions Hiranyagarbha as the propounder of yoga. Patanjali seems to have collected its essence later on and compiled the *Sūtras*. Whatever the truth of that may be, the first sight of yoga is in the early forest universities of India of the sixth or the fifth century B.C. We do not see the ruddy streaks of dawn, we see yoga at its meridian. The science of *Sāmkhya* deals with the nature of the bondage of the individual soul, and the mode of its release from it. The soul, since the time of its creation, is in conjunction with and encased in a sheath

⁵ The highest epithet of Buddha, meaning 'thus gone,' i.e., one who will not again return to the world.

of *Prakriti*,⁶ i.e., the primordial matter which is a real and independent entity and which, by its mere contiguity, throws its shadow or reflection or colour on the soul, just as a crystal⁷ is coloured by a rose kept near it. The bondage of the soul is of the nature of this colouring or reflection or superimposition. The *Prakritic* sheath, called *Linga Śarīra*,⁸ is composed of a number of *tatvas* or things that have evolved or differentiated from *Prakriti* as an intellectual basis; and one of these *tatvas* is *Buddhi*—the understanding—which constantly undergoes modifications. So long as these modifications take place, they will be superimposed on the soul, and when they cease, the *Buddhi tatva* ceases to throw any more colour on the soul. This ceasing of the soul's being coloured by the *tatva* is liberation.⁹ To use an example from modern science, *Buddhi* with its three subdivisions *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas* may be compared to white light with its three primary colours.¹⁰ When the three colours are in their proper proportions, the total effect is a white colour. But if the quantities of the three colours necessary to produce white light vary, the latter gets coloured. If this colouring should be prevented, the variation in the quantities of the primary colours also must be prevented. Similarly, in its pristine purity, *Buddhi* can throw no reflection or colour on the soul. If the modifications take place in it, the soul is coloured; but if these are suppressed, the soul is free from coloration or bondage. When this happens, *Buddhi* merges into the primordial *Prakriti*, or the destruction of *linga dēha* takes place. Hence, according to *Sāṃkhya*, release consists of the separation of the *Prakriti* from the *Puruṣa*, and this is effected by the suppressions of the modifications of *Buddhi*. Expressed in popular language, the soul's bondage consists in its

6 *Prakriti* means 'that which evolves out.' It is often wrongly translated as Nature or inanimate matter. It is anything but that, since it evolves out of itself *Buddhi*, i.e., intelligence, and *Ahaṁkāra*, i.e., consciousness of self.

7 *Kusuma vācha māṇih*: Kapila Sūtras Book II. Sūtra No. 35 (Trubner's "Oriental Series").

8 *Linga Śarīra*—a subtle and primordially produced body composed of a number of principles or *tatvas* (seventeen according to some and sixteen according to some other). This body does not disappear like the physical body at the end of each life, but it constitutes a vehicle carrying the soul from one body or life to another free from past experience, but affected by *bhavas*, i.e., virtue and vice. It disappears only at the time of release, or *Mukti*.

9 Liberation according to *Sāṃkhya* is of the *Prakriti* and not of the soul. Just as a dancer retires after the exhibition of her feats to the audience, so the *Prakriti* separates itself from the soul.

Rangasya darsayitvā nivartatē
Nartakī yathā nrityaṁ
Puruṣasya tadhātmanāṁ
Prakāśya nivartatē prakṛitih.—(Sāṃkhya Kārikā).

10 Blue (3·0%); Green (54·7%); Red (42·3%) mixed together produces a colour similar to daylight.

being immersed in self-conceit and rank materialism, and release in separating itself from them and fancying nothing but a white celestial thought.

Accordingly the fundamental aim of yoga, which is not merely a practical science to *Sāṃkhya* but also a supplement to it, has been the suppressions of the modifications of *buddhi*, i.e., of *chitta*. [Patanjali puts it collectively for the three principles *buddhi* (intelligence), *manas* (mind), and *ahamkāra* (egoism)] as Yoga Sutras Book I, Sutra I, says, *Yogo citta vrithi nirodhaha*. Yoga has also been explained as *Viyōga*, i.e., separation, in which case it means the separation of *Prakriti*, i.e., *Linga Sarira*, or pain, from the *Purusha*. Yoga has been described in "Bhagavadgita" as follows:—"The Yogi is like a lamp which does not flicker in a sheltered spot. When thought is quiescent restrained by the practices of yoga, when seeing the self by the self he is satisfied in his own self, when he knows the infinite joy which transcending the senses can be grasped by reason, when steady in the self he moves never from the reality, when having obtained it he thinks no other acquisition superior to it, when therein established he is not moved even by a great pain, this severance from union with pain be it known as yoga."¹¹ Hence yoga is a science of liberation of the soul after the manner of *Sāṃkhyan* doctrines, by means of evenness of mind, and perfect knowledge of the reality. The whole spirit of Indian yoga, to quote Mr. Havell,¹² "is symbolised in the conception of Buddha, sitting on his lotus throne, calm, impassive, his thought freed from all worldly passions and desires, and with both mind and body raised above all intellectual and physical strife; yet filled with more than human power, derived from perfect communion with the sources of all truth, all knowledge and all strength. It is the symbol of the power of spirit which comes not by wresting nor by intellectual striving but by the gift of God, by prayer and meditation, by yoga, union with the Universal Soul." While yoga is a science of liberation, it is also a science of intuition. In India intuition was not a subject of mere academic interest, but, on the other hand, was pressed into the services of man, and acquired on a large scale with manifold objects. What Sir John Woodroffe said in one of his speeches, "Intuition has, however, to be led into higher and higher possibilities by means of *Śādhana*, which is merely the gradual unfolding of the spirit's vast latent magazine of power, enjoyment, and vision, which every one possesses in himself" has been done by Indian yoga. It was by intuition that the ancient seers caught sight of the ultimate realities, that have found expression in the *Vēdas* and *Upa-nishads*. It was by intuition, as Pantanjali describes under 'Samyama' in

11 "Bhagavadgita" Book 6, stanzas 20-26: Śāṅkarā's "Commentary," edited by Mahadeva Sastry.

12 "Ideals of Indian Art." by E. B. Havell: (Murray), page 32.

Book III of the Yoga Sūtras, that nature's mysteries were directly apprehended. On the occasion of an entertainment to Dr. J. C. Bose after his recent trip round the world, Dr. Brajendranatha Seal, King George V. Professor of Philosophy, University of Calcutta, said that it was by "felicitous intuition (earned if I may so put it) by intense meditation and guided by intelligent observation," that certain specific forms of sensibility and neural actions among the plant organisms, like response to thunder, etc., as have been shown by the researches of Dr. Bose, had been known to the ancient Hindus of the Mahābhārata period.¹³

How to bring into daily practice that state of mind which is necessary for yoga. It is here that one has to keep aloof the word-polishing about spiritual life, etc., and wrangle with the stern realities of human life. There are eight stages in yoga through which a would-be meditator has to pass before obtaining perfection in it. They are *Yama* (universal duty of forbearance, harmlessness to others, veracity, chastity and purity); *Niyama* (religious observances leading to the external and the internal purity, contentment, and devotion to God); *Āsana* (a posture to enable the mind to think freely); *Prāṇāyāma* (a process of washing the fleshly dress and storing up energy by regulation of breath); *Pratyāhāra* (restraint of the senses); *Dhāraṇa* (localisation of our thought or attention to certain object or centres in the body); *Dhyāna* and *Samādhi* (profound meditation and trance).

So what yoga, as practised by the Hindus and the Buddhists, attempts to maintain, is a life of ethical and religious endeavour and a mental discipline, not as an end in itself but as a means to realise the reality. There may be much that one may not accept here. It is not even for a moment meant that it is possible to convince others of the importance or the efficacy of the yoga practices. But it may be granted by all, that words are words, an index to one's living thoughts and ideas, and often fail in distinctly expressing things that are unfamiliar. Besides there is a certain mental inertia and prejudice in the human mind always investing its own system with absolute values; and so a system like yoga, whose standpoint is not the same as ours, is often liable to be misunderstood. It is nothing but the unscientific character of the mind that it should view with indifference or call as gross absurdity any system which it cannot comprehend.

Yama and *Niyama*,¹⁴ as seen before, are of the nature of practical ethics, whose ramifications can be seen in every phase of Hindu or Buddhist life. In them we have the norms and standards that Eucken lays stress on for the

13 From *Modern Review*, "Positive Sciences of the Hindus," by Dr. Brajendranath Seal, contains the Ślokas on the consciousness of plants, from "Mahābhārata Shāntiparva."

14 *Yoga Sūtras* Book II, Sūtras No. 30 and 31 on *Yama*.

" " " Nos. 32 to 38 on *Niyama*.

proper evolution of the individual or the social being, but never defines clearly as to their character. In yoga, morality is not matter to be easily disposed of by saying that one cannot be expected to sacrifice his happiness to that of others. It does not deal in compromises. It is an imperative demand like Tennyson's 'It is not for you to reason why.' How *Yama* and *Niyama* will influence the social well-being is, that through them is purified the feeling, which is as important to religion and daily life as knowledge or action and even more so in the earlier stages of religious development. When once this purification has been achieved, the man is no more a burden or danger to the society. To a moral wreck, there is no chance of realising the truth. How important a part *Yama* and *Niyama* play in Buddhism may be seen when we come to Buddhist yoga.

*Āsana*¹⁵ is any suitable posture or symbolical attitude of the body, in which one's mind is quite at ease, a posture which keeps the nervous mechanism quite free for certain neural actions to take place in it during the psycho-physiological processes that come later on. Various kinds of *asanas* have been mentioned in books on yoga. They have been made much of in a branch of yoga, named Hatha Yoga, whose aim is the achievement of certain physical powers. *Prāṇāyāma* is the regulation of vital currents in the human body. *Prāṇa*¹⁶ or *vāyu* (the bio-motor force or the vital current as Dr. Seal

15 *Yōga Sūtras* Book II, Sūtras No. 46, also *Brahma Sūtras* of Bādarāyana recommend *āsana*, in Adhy 4, Pada I. (See also foot-note No. 25.)

16 *Yōga Sūtras* Book III, Sūtra No. 49, on *Prāṇāyāma*. *Prāṇas* or *Vāyus* are ten in number
 (a) *Prāna* which works the ideo-motor verbal mechanism and vocal apparatus, the respiratory centre, the muscles engaged in coughing, sighing, etc.
 (b) *Apāna* which ejects the excretions and wastes, the urine, the faeces, the sperm, and germ cells, etc.
 (c) *Vyāna* whose work is extension, contraction and flexion of the muscles, tendons and ligaments, the stored up energy of the muscles.
 (d) *Samāna*, the force which, in conjunction with animal heat, works the machinery of metabolism, in the maintenance of organic life. It drives or propels the chyle, blood and every other current or circulating fluid in the body.
 (e) *Udāna* concerned in maintaining the erect posture of the body.
 (f) *Nāga* concerned in involuntary retching and vomiting.
 (g) *Kūrma* which works the automatic movement of the eyelids, winking, etc.
 (h) *Krikara* concerned with the appetites of hunger and thirst.
 (i) *Dīvadatta* which brings about yawning and dozing.
 (j) *Dhananjā* which is concerned with coma, swooning, trance.

("Positive Sciences of the Hindus": Longman's.)

The ten *vāyūs* travel through ten *nādis*, or nerve cords and do all the work of the body. There are 72,000 nerve fibre in the human body (just as there are fibres or ribs stout as well as fine in a leaf of *Ficus Religiosa*), of which ten *nādis*, through which ten *vāyūs* travel, are prominent.

'Caranti dasa nādisu dasa prānādi vāyavah.'

Khagésvara Samhita Yōgādhyāya.

puts it) is the prime-mover of the human mechanism, and like the gas in a gas-engine maintains and is responsible for all the activities of the human organism. A knowledge and control of this *prāṇa* is *Prāṇāyāma*. It consists of inhalation, suspension of breath and exhalation, all of which being performed far more efficiently than usual involve at each stage a considerable amount of inhibition. In controlling one's breath it is the vital force or energy that is brought under control, and when this is achieved all other actions of *vāyūs*, i.e., the vital forces which are many, are also controlled. According to the neurologists, the restraint of any process or activity in a healthy organism makes it fitter for future work just as restraining a horse's activity makes him exceedingly fit for work.^{16a} So *prāṇāyāma* properly conducted ought to strengthen one's breathing apparatus, make him strong and kindle his digestive fire. But the chief aim of *Prāṇāyāma* in yoga is to arouse the nervous energy called *Kundalini* coiled up in a ganglionic centre at the base of the spine, called *Mulādhāra Chakra* (i.e., the sacro-coccygeal plexus as Dr. Basu and Dr. Seal have identified it), and make it pass through *Sushumna*, a hollow canal running through the spinal column to the *Sahasrara Chakra* (thousand-petaled lotus) in the brain. In the bodies of men whose nervous energy is at a low potential, i.e., those who have not controlled and accumulated it sufficiently, *Sushumna* is not open. There is a nature's resistance causing no inflow of energy. But in the case of men who are abnormally developed, their nervous energy easily overcomes that resistance and leaks in *Sushumna*. So *Prāṇāyāma* is as much a physiological process, as it is an psychical act. *Prāṇāyāma* and *Āsanas*, which are psycho-physiological in their nature, have no claim to be introduced in a system of meditation if it were not for their starting and maintaining certain neural actions, which can enable one to see or realise things that men with normal eyes and brains cannot. This aspect of *Prāṇāyāma* does not seem to have been taken notice of by many, and it eagerly awaits a competent treatment at the hands of psychologists and neurologists. Even in the West it is but recently that the importance of the nervous system and its dependence on other systems, like thyroid glands and sex glands, have been recognised. Though the nature of inhibition is still hidden in obscurity, still it is recognised that it is necessary in preserving the balance and tone of the bodily functions. "Inhibition is expression of neural vigour. It is knowing when and where to stop. It is the art of keeping things within bounds, of gaining moral perspective, of subordinating self and the present for the sake of the race and the future."¹⁷ The effects of *Prāṇāyāma* are strength, beauty of person, long life,

16a "Nerves," by Fraser Harris, page 166: (Home University Library).

17 "Nerves," by Fraser Harris, page 247.

the purification of the *nādis*, i.e., the nerves, lightness of body, and increase of digestive fire.¹⁸

Various *manthras* are repeated and meditated on during the process of *Prāṇāyāma*, *Gāyathri*, the chief *mantra* of *sandhyavandana* which is to be performed three times a day being the foremost.

Pratyahara is controlling the mind by the power of one's own will. It is here that the restraint of the modifications of *Buddhi*, as Kapila mentions, is attempted. Patanjali said in Book II, Sūtras 10 and 33, that to obstruct thought, inimical to yoga, contrary thoughts should be brought; one thought drives out an opposite thought. For example, a mother is angry with her husband; she sees her baby coming in and immediately kisses her. Here a wave of anger is driven out by an opposing wave of affection. Such a theory has been accepted by Western psychologists. Prof. Münsterberg, of Harvard, thinks somewhat as Newton in his third law of motion, that there is no action which has not got its exact opposite, and that preparing ourselves for one line of action means the closing beforehand of the channels of discharge for the opposite.

Dhāraṇa, *Dhyāna* and *Samādhi* are the three psychical processes that are similar to one another varying only in degree. The three combined together go by the name of *saṁyama*. *Dhāraṇa* is the concentration of the mind on certain points or centres in the body,¹⁹ its object being the steadying of the mind. For the acquisition of the various physical powers, different objects are often meditated on, like clay, water, colour, etc., and this practice was observed to a very great extent among the Buddhists. *Dhyāna* is meditation of objects, gross or fine. It is close and continued attention to an object or thought. It is like the intuitive sympathy of Bergson. The effect of meditation is that it suppresses all irrelevant thoughts and ideas, and allows only those thoughts that are discharged by the object meditated on, in the shape of realities. Meditants and mystics have always borne testimony to the richness of their inner life, which is largely contributed by their intense meditation. Such men have entered into a strong sympathy with the objects meditated on, and when their concentration intensifies, they observe a breaking forth of the objects into realities that stand before them face to face. They have attained the *Samādhi* state. It is a state of super-consciousness in which there is no feeling of 'I', but if a man goes into it (i.e., the *asampragnāta samādhī*) even as a fool, he comes out a sage as it is the state when one gets sudden

18 "Khāṇḍikāra Samhitā Yōgādhyāya," Śloka 72 to 77. (See also foot-note No. 25.)

19 The points if within the body, one of the ganglionic centres is implied. If outside the body, any external object is meant. The nerve centres are called *chakras*, i.e., knots of nerve fibres. They are *ādhāra*, *adhishthāna* *manipūra*, *anāhata* *viśuddhi* *ājñā*, *sahasrāra* at the sacro-coccygeal region, below the navel, navel, heart, throat, between the eye-brows and brain, or pineal gland respectively.

illumination or a flash of intelligence. It is described as *cit-ekāgratha*²⁰ or mind-pointedness, which no physical torture can disturb—the highest state that human consciousness can attain; a state of trance from which the meditant can recover or not recover the human mind is accustomed to three states only: the waking, the dreamy and the sleepy state. *Samādhi* is a fourth state, a state of our consciousness of ourselves in our pristine purity. *Samādhi* has been mistaken in some quarters²¹ as an escape from the waking world and its responsibilities. It is not so since one has to escape from the limitations of the physical organs and mind, if he would perceive immaterial realms. The higher the *Prāṇic* force that is withdrawn towards the brain, the farther the distance from the waking state and deeper the *Samādhi*. This closely resembles 'the inhibition by drainage'²² that Dr. MacDougall proposes. If the visual centres are made hyper-sensitive, then the centres for touch and pain become quite insensitive; 'the excessive innervation in the former centre has by drainage inhibited the latter.' It is a matter of common experience that men in a hypnotic state often observe things that average men cannot see, and are at the same time insensitive to such pain as that of tooth-extraction.

There is no more selfishness in the idea of *Samādhi* than in one's attempt to attain the highest culture. Does *Samādhi* enable one to live a new spiritual life after his return from it? The answer is, Yes. Entering into that state merely enables one to find out some truths, and truths are infinite. There is no immediate intuition of reality, but it proceeds step by step. Men in that stage live with us and around us. They cannot be denied a life that is spiritually superior to ours. Even perfect *Yōgis* like Kapila, the author of *Sāṃkhya*, and Bheeshma of the *Mahābhārata*, lived in the world, with the world, and overcame the world by maintaining themselves even in the face of the hardest resistance. That Bheeshma, the venerable teacher of the Pāṇdavas and the Kurus, was one of the most perfect *Yōgis* is clear from his having held his life from the moment of his falling wounded with arrows on the battlefield of Kurukshētra till the winter solstice commenced, and having left the mortal frame at his appointed hour by means of yoga, which enabled his soul to pass through *Sushumna* to *Brahmarandra*²³—a form of death that only the most perfectly evolved being can hope to meet with according to Hindu ideas. This *Yōgi* of a Bheeshma was

20 Yoga Sūtras Book III, Sūtra 12.

21 Rudolf Eucken, "Main Currents of Modern Thought," page 137.

22 "Nerves," by Fraser Harris, page 176.

23 *Sushumna* is the central *nādi* travelling in *Brahmadanda*, or vertebral column, up to a point in the top of the head called *Brahmarandhra*. Upanishads, Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyana, Adhy 4, Pada 2, and Paurāyana Sūtras as mentioned in Sri Mādhava's Commentary on Brahma Sūtras support the view that the highly evolved soul passes along *Sushumna* and leaves the body after passing through *Brahmarandhra*.

all his life a bachelor and a teacher of archery, and like a true warrior died on a bed of arrows on the battlefield. Just before the time of his death, an arrow over which his massive head was resting fell down. Arjuna standing by offered soft cushions for the unsupported head of the dying warrior. Nothing could the latter allow near him except the fallen arrow. He breathed his last after it was again fixed into the ground, and his head was supported on it. Such is the spirit of Indian yoga. Eucken was wrong in writing that in the Indian system 'there is no penetration or overcoming of the world, but a separation or liberation, not an ennoblement of life in order to maintain it anew even in the face of the hardest resistance, but a profound contemplation and one not translated into deeds. Indian yoga does not demand one's flying away from life's battle, nor a break with the present and the past, as Eucken demands for his spiritual life, but a uniform evolution of the spiritual manhood.

It is a curious irony of fate that almost all religions and philosophies with high ideals should descend from their intellectual pedestals and talk to the multitude in terms of their philosophy, before they obtain popularity. The chaff intended to feed the beasts was *Samyama* in the case of yoga. When *Samyama* is done on different objects,²⁴ different powers are got by the *Yogi*. For instance, by making *Samyama* on the strength of an elephant, one gets its strength; by making it on light, one gets knowledge of the remote; on sun the knowledge of the worlds; on moon the knowledge of the stars; on the navel the constitution of the body; on the elements, the knowledge of the elements, and so on. It was this *Samyama* that enabled the *Yogis* to get various powers, and often yoga was practised with a utilitarian view to the neglect of its ultimate aim, i.e., release. Thus yoga degenerated through ages into a system for the acquisition of bodily beauty and powers, and got the name of *Hatha Yōga*,²⁵ whose chief characteristics are the bodily contortions and sometimes excessive mortifications, to which Monier Williams refers. Eventually it even degraded into magic and black art, like the attracting of money, charming a woman, getting into other people's bodies, and killing others by incantations. Kautilya²⁶ mentions Bali and Sambara who were skilled in one hundred kinds of magic, as inducing deep slumber over a whole city, enabling one to see things in the dark, walking in the air quite invisible to others, and so on. Beal's "Buddhist Records" mentions extraordinary powers as possessed by the Bhikkus, i.e., Buddhist ascetics. Monier Williams, while mentioning in

24 *Yōga Sūtras* Book III. treats of *Samyama* only.

25 *Hatha Yōga* is the science of breath-control. Ha=moon, tha=sun. So *Hatha* means moon and sun, i.e., two breaths, symbolically. There are eighty-four postures recommended in it for various purposes, of which *Siddhāsana* will purify all *nādis*, and *Padmāsana* will destroy all diseases.

26 Kautilya Book XIV, Chapter III.

"Indian Wisdom" a number of instances of *yōgic* feats, of which may be mentioned a *Yōgi* turning towards the sun for sixteen years continuously, says, that the Westerners can hardly believe them, but that they are true. It is *Hatha Yōga* that has been observed by the European writers, it is that which has been the insidious influence robbing yoga of its dignity, and which has been condemned by the Vedāntists.

Prof. H. C. Norman once wrote that there is nothing new in Buddhism except Buddha. This holds good even in the province of practice, since many terms and processes in use in Buddhist yoga are same as those of the Indian yoga. In the process of sitting with cross-legs (*i.e.*, *Āsana*), in the repetition of the *gnana* formula (*i.e.*, *mantra*), in the concentration (*i.e.*, *Dhyāna*), in the breathing exercises (*i.e.*, *Prāṇāyāma*), in the pseudo-physical localisation of ideas, (*i.e.*, *Dhāraṇa*), in the method of devices (*i.e.*, *Samayama*), and in the ten forms of knowledge, the margin of difference between the Indian and Buddhist yoga practices is so small that one irresistibly concludes a common origin for both of them. The main points of difference seem to be the meditation of ten foul things, the use of wax-taper and concentration on them, which form the novel features of Buddhism.

This yoga consists of a series of meditations on different objects. They are briefly as follows:—A *Yōgi* utters *Arahan Arahan*,²⁷ (*i.e.*, worthy! worthy!), sits cross legged at some convenient place, breathes in and out, fixes his eye-consciousness on the tip of the nose and meditates on the *Five Zests*, or raptures known as lesser thrill, momentary flash, flooding rapture, transporting rapture, and all-pervading rapture. In his attempt to obtain them, he meditates on various other things, *i.e.*, (a) the order due; (b) the six sounds (probably the letters in *Arahan*); (c) the span or the distance from the navel to the heart; (d) the aggregate of elements; (e) the fourfold system; (f) the fivefold system; (g) the heart; (h) the self-collectedness, or *samādhi*; (i) the lasting of the law; (j) wax-taper exercises; (k) the task of self-control. The same course is gone through during the next two meditations, *i.e.*, the meditation of *six pairs* (like repose of mental factors; wildness of mental factors; buoyancy of mental factors, fitness of mental factors: plasticity of mental factors, rectitude of mental factors: and so on), and meditation of happiness (like the bliss of sense and the bliss of mind and so on).

There is a special course on *breathing exercises*, where one is asked to place his three thought forms on distances in space ranging from one inch to a span and then gradually to thousand leagues and beyond. Probably

²⁷ *Arahan*: A means treasure of the law (*Dhamma*).

RA means treasure who is *Buddha*.

HAN means treasure of brotherhood (*Sangha*).

This method of splitting a *mantra* is not unfamiliar to Hindus.

this was intended to master the distances, for in the last exercise the Buddhist *Yōgi* is asked to meditate on billions of world systems. The breathing exercises are followed by the exercise by 'devices' that corresponds to the *Samayana* of Patanjali, and in which the five elements and certain colours are meditated on.

This is followed by meditation on *ten foul things* (the swollen corpse, the festering corpse, the discoloured corpse, the fissured corpse, the mangled corpse, the dismembered corpse, the limb scattered corpse, the bloody corpse, the worm foul corpse, and the skeleton).

Then follows meditation on *thirty-two bodily parts* (like heart, liver, brain, etc.): meditation of ten recollections (Buddha, *Dharma* or law, *Sangha* or order, good conduct, resignation, perfect peace, gods, death, one idea (i.e., disgust); and, lastly, one element); and meditation on four immaterial realms (space, consciousness, realm of nothingness, and realm of neither consciousness nor absence thereof).

The meditation on the *four highest states* (i.e., love, pity, sympathetic joy and equanimity), during which the *Yōgi* prays, "May I be happy. May all things be happy. May all the boundless world systems be happy. May all things be set free. May the billion world systems never cease. May they never cease from the fortune they have won. May I know the *Dharma*, or the law. May all be the knowers of the law," and spreads his joy and sympathy over all the world systems, and aspires for equanimity to all the creatures in the ten quarters of the universe,—this meditation affords one of the highest types of mental and moral training of which any religion or philosophy should be proud. One may say now that there is nothing new in this meditation. Yes, truths are always the oldest things on record, but ever new. And the value of Buddhist yoga lies in this that it has incorporated into practice the fundamental moral laws and principles that others either assume in theory or consider as matter of individual taste. To wish joy and happiness for and spread one's sympathy over the world systems is a moral imperative, a qualification for *arahatship*, and for attaining *nirvāṇa*, the ultimate goal of the Buddhists. It is here that the strongly ethical character of the Buddhistic practices can be seen. But it is rather surprising that this form of meditation comes so late in—nay at the end of—the Buddhist code, whereas the Indian system begins with this (in *Yama* and *Niyama*). It is so because the former is a course of practical ethics concerned more with the needs of the world around us. It pays more attention to the means than the end. Overcome the world first and then have as much metaphysics, eschatology, or metempsychosis as you like, was the Buddhist view.

The meditation on the *ten forms of knowledge*, which in point of sublimity of thought has no parallel, forms the culminating point of the Buddhist yoga, where the Buddhist meditant equips himself for *Nirvāṇa* by very deep concentration and meditation on the ultimate realities. With his well-developed insight into the knowledge of things, he meditates by repeating, "Impermanence! Suffering! There is no soul! Disruption! No soul! There is no soul! There is no soul!" and awaits *Nirvāṇa*. The prayer is so ardent and the meditation so intense, that even he who reads it feels his physical frame silently detaching itself from him and melting into the elements, the surrounding universe vanishing from the sight, with nothing above or below him, and he himself turning into the pure essence of peace, calm and insight.

Such are the practices the Buddhists have adopted to attain *Nirvāṇa*. But they are not without their riddles. The parts played by the breathing exercises, and the meditation on ten foul things, and on wax taper, and also the meaning of Buddhist *Samādhi* are not clear. The Buddhists do not seem to have recognised the existence of a *Sushumna* or *Knudalini* or *Sahasrara Chakra* like the Hindus, though there is in their practices an attempt towards meditating on certain thought forms at certain centres in the brain, spinal column, and so on. Neither have they a soul to make it pass through *sushumna*. We are rather inclined to group together their practices for *Āsana* (*i.e.*, bodily postures), *prāṇāyāma* (*i.e.*, breathing exercises), and devices (*i.e.*, *Samayama*), and consider them as having been practised by them more for obtaining bodily or magical powers rather than mental clarity. That they performed *Samayama* on an elaborate scale on different things like clay, water, and colours to gain control over gross and subtle bodies is certain. It is also equally true that Buddhists were noted for their *Siddies* (*i.e.*, physical powers), and magic, as Beal's "Buddhist Record of the Western World" shows. Nāgārjuna supposed to be a founder of the yoga system and the Mahāyāna school was one of the greatest Buddhist philosophers and a master of sciences, especially of magic. He could become invisible and transport himself from place to place by supernatural powers.²⁸ Tathagatha Buddha caused five lions to start from his fingers and meet his adversary.²⁹ So there is every reason to believe that *Āsana*, *Prāṇāyāma*, and *Samayama* were later on introduced or used in Buddhist yoga for the acquisition of certain physical or magical powers.

The meditation of *ten foul things* is one of the strangest features of Buddhist yoga. They seem to have been introduced in order to induce thought of impermanence of beauty and form, and a sense of repulsion from the cravings of the flesh, and thus foster an ascetic atmosphere. The human

²⁸ Getty's "Gods of Northern Buddhism."

²⁹ Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World": (Trübner's "Oriental Series").

mind, however much it may try to restrain itself from superficial attractions, is always in danger of being invaded by them, whenever the mental tension is relaxed. To prevent such a catastrophe this system of meditation on ten different kinds of corpses has been introduced. This has no parallel in Indian yoga.

The meditation on the wax-taper is an enigma, sphinx-like in appearance. To select a wax-taper that occupies a very humble rank in the scheme of our domestic life, to bring that perfect stranger amidst *yōgi* surroundings, invest it with sacredness and raise it to the dignity of an object to be meditated upon by *Yōgis*, who have forsaken all the comforts and joys of the earth in order to live in a frigid monastic atmosphere, and who are more or less in the *samādhi* state or meditate upon it, is nothing short of an absurdity if it is not for the important part that the wax-taper plays or attempts to play in inducing certain thought and feelings which, if not taken care of and be safeguarded, may undermine the very roots of Buddhism. We are inclined to connect the wax-taper with one of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, the doctrine of *no soul*. In his attempt to avoid philosophical speculation and religious strifes, Buddha denied a Godhead and also the individual soul. He said that the latter was like the flame of a candle,³⁰ which, if blown out, is free from form and name. He made use of this simile, because he wanted to explain the problem of rebirth. He said that after death it is not the soul that takes up another body, but it is the personality that survives. Just as a flame is transmitted from one taper to another, it is the personality that is transmitted from one body to another. In order to prevent his followers from the danger of falling into the usual Indian habit of locating a soul in the body, Buddha gave the illuminating example of the taper burning to explain the real situation, and the same view must have prompted him or his followers to have prescribed the offering of the wax-taper and meditating on them; for whenever these are done, the idea of *no soul* and thought and feelings associated with it would be uppermost, and there cannot be any inroads for the soul idea.

This necessarily drives us to the question of the nature of the Buddhist *Samādhi* and *Nirvāṇa*. Whereas *Samādhi* is the culminating point of Indian yoga, it occupies but an humble place in the other. As seen in the first three stages of meditation, 'meditating on self-collectedness, or *Samādhi*' is in-

30 "As a flame blown to and fro by the wind, goes out and cannot be registered, even so a sage, set free from name and form, has disappeared and cannot be registered," said Buddha. The disciple inquires, 'Has he then merely disappeared, or does he, indeed, no longer exist?' For him who has disappeared, there is no form; that by which they say, 'He is' exists for him no more; when all conditions are cut off, all matter for discussion also is cut off."

—*Sutta Nipata*.

roduced only as a subdivision, and is followed by the offering of wax-taper, etc. It is not at all clear how, when one has developed thought forms in *Samādhi*, i.e., is in intense meditation, it is possible for him to take note of wax tapers burning about an inch and their falling down, as is prescribed. Evidently the meditator is in a conscious state, and there is nothing of that fierce concentration which burns every irrelevant thought that approaches the meditator, that suspension of the lower functions of the body and the mind which enables the mystic merging and fusing of one's self into the object meditated, on which characterise the Hindu *Samādhi*. The Buddhist contemplative seems, however, to have attained the lower type of *Samādhi*, called *Sampragnata*. Beal's "Buddhist Records" mention a number of *Samādhis*, two of which may be mentioned, i.e., *Samādhi of the brilliant flame*, by which a Bhikku, who had moderated his diet to one-third of the actual requirements and acquired six supernatural powers, rose into the sky with smoke and fire proceeding from his body, and only his bones fell down, and *the Samādhi of Love* by which *Bodhisatva* changed all the weapons that were hurled on him by a certain king into lotus flowers. *Samādhi* in these cases mean either the leaving off the mortal coil or a state of concentration. The difficulty in classing them along with the *Sampragnata* and *Asampragnata Samādhis* of the Indian yoga is that they have partaken the nature of magical exercises.

Therefore, whereas the Buddhist *Samādhi* was not of the fierce nature of the Indian one, its chief feature, i.e., its ethical character, is strongly writ upon it. There is something frigid about it in its meditation of ten foul things and No-soul-ness. It is to the heart of the Buddhist that we should look all these and not his brain.

What is the final goal of the Buddhist? It is *Nirvāṇa*. It has been misunderstood as the total annihilation of the soul; on the other hand, it refers to the extinction of the fire of lust, resentment, glamour, and not of the soul principle. *Nirvāṇa* is the emancipation from egoism, and what is this but the escape from the *ahankāra*, or modifications of *Buddhi* of the *Sāṃkhya*? Whereas Patanjali's yoga in actual practice improved upon *Sāṃkhya* by supplementing it with a Godhead, and thus became very popular in India, Buddhism adhered itself to *Sāṃkhya* and committing a further mistake of denying the soul, was driven out of India.

There is a golden chain connecting all the three i.e., the *Sāṃkhya*, the Hindu yoga, and the Buddhist yoga, in spite of their differences. It is the asceticism which even Buddha when denied God and soul could not deny. He has emphasized the superiority of asceticism over a *grihasta's* life, i.e., family life. There is no doubt that asceticism is a much maligned system at the present day.

"But asceticism and puritanism", says Nietzsche, "are almost indispensable means of ennobling a race which seeks to rise above its hereditary baseness and work itself up to future supremacy." The Indian philosophers, though they have all differed from each other in their methods and doctrines, have nowhere expressed two distinctly divergent views on asceticism; for it has been a means and an influence enabling the human mind to attain certain states in which the ultimate realities can be distinctly seen face to face. Each human being will turn into an ascetic one day or other, whether he likes it or not; for the mind, while aspiring to higher things, will try to

'Grow rich in that which never taketh rust;' for

'Whatever fades, but fading pleasure brings,'

in the words of Sir Phillip Sydney, who, in spite of all the glory and pomp of a courtier's life, was forced to accept asceticism and utter the above lines.

The ascetic life, with its few desires and monastic habits, tends to evolve a true and vigorous manhood. In conclusion, the asceticism that is the chief feature of Yoga, Sāmkhya, Buddhism and Vēdānta, is not flying away from life's battle or the responsibilities of the world, but the annihilation of ignorance for the Buddhists, the equanimity of mind for a Yōgi, the freedom from *ahamkāra* for the Sāmkhya, and the destruction of *Māyā* or *Linga Sarira* according to the Vēdāntists. It is an eternal and legitimate battle for freedom, and, finally, freedom itself.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

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[This paper is made up of *select* pages of a comprehensive work on the subject, which is shortly to be published in England by the Mysore University. The reader is accordingly requested to make his kind allowance for its inevitable deficiency in organic unity.—R. K. M.]

I.—Introductory

ONE of the characteristic features of ancient Hindu civilisation is the marked development of associated life it exhibits. That development was achieved in varying degrees in the different spheres of life. We find it in those of religion, learning, politics, civics and economics. In all these spheres organisations grew up on what may be regarded as a democratic or popular basis to fulfil the ends of national life. A proper presentation of Hindu culture in all its aspects and phases should take into account those diverse developments of the associated life, the many manifestations of the democratic principle which that culture represents. In the present work an attempt will be made to trace one particular line of that development, to dwell upon the workings of the democratic principle in one particular form.

The subject of local self-government in ancient India has both historical and practical interest. We owe largely to her elaborate system of local government the preservation of the integrity, independence and individuality of Hindu culture, despite the world-shaking and catastrophic political movements to which that culture was frequently exposed in the course of her history. That provided a sort of Noah's ark in which were safely protected the vital elements of Hindu civilisation against the overwhelming political deluges that swept over the country from time to time. As Sir George Birdwood has truly remarked (*Industrial Arts of India*), "India has undergone more religious and political revolutions than any other country in the world; but the village

communities remain in full municipal vigour all over the peninsula—Scythian, Greek, Saracen, Afghan, and Mongol have come down from the mountains, and Portuguese, Dutch, Dane, French, and English up out of its seas, and set up their successive dominations in the land; but the religious trade union villages have remained as little affected by their coming and going as a rock by the rising and falling of the tide." This is, indeed, an echo of an earlier utterance of Sir Charles Metcalfe. (Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, Vol. III, Appendix 84, Page 331.) "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution; but the village community remains the same. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence." The fact is that India presents the rare and remarkable phenomenon of the state and society co-existing apart from, and in some degree of independence of, each other, as distinct and separate units or entities, as independent centres of national, popular, and collective life and activity. Both of them were independent organisms with distinct and well-defined structures, and functions of their own and laws of growth and evolution. The limits of state interference were accordingly so defined and fixed as not to encroach upon the sphere of the activities of the social organisations. A policy of non-interference was recognised as the ideal policy of the state, the functions of which were ordinarily restricted to "the irreducible minimum," viz., the protection of life and property and realisation of the revenue for the proper execution of that duty. There was a well-understood delimitation of the respective boundaries of the political and the social organisation, both of which were but co-operating agencies for the promotion of the commonweal. This peculiar and predominant tendency in ancient and mediæval Indian politics is in marked contrast with that of European or Western politics generally. In the West, the predominant tendency has been towards a progressive extension of state interference and state control, so as to bring within its limits all the main departments of national activity and social life until the ideal is attained of a complete nationalisation or socialisation of all the means and processes of life itself. The state beginning as an agent of society becomes its master and representative; society is merged in the state to which it surrenders its functions, dropping its independent life. Thus, in the West, the king or the repository of the sovereign power is the

head of the state as well as of society, including even the church in some cases. In ancient India, the king was the head of the state but not of the society. He had a place in the social hierarchy, but it was not the highest place. As the symbol of the state, he appeared to the people like a remote abstraction with no direct touch with their daily life which was governed by the social organisation. The points of contact between the state and the ordinary interests of the daily life of the people were, indeed, very few.

In bringing out this contrast between the tendencies of Indian and Western politics and political thought, it is not meant that Western administrations leave no room for local self-government, or have no place for the autonomous local and municipal bodies. The assumption, indeed, goes against the very nature of things. For, it is physically impossible to administer properly the manifold interests of civilised life in the comparatively larger states of the modern world from one central government. Indeed, if we consider the most progressive countries of the West, such as United Kingdom, Germany, France, or the United States, we shall find that by far the largest part of their government is now that which is not carried on in the capital cities by the dignified departments of state under the control of the central national assembly or Parliament, but that which is being administered locally in village, or parish or commune, in municipality, or county, or district under the control and in the interests of the local people in these rural areas. In England, for instance, the aggregate of parish councils, district councils, borough councils, and county councils happens to be, in magnitude or volume of business, greater than all the government departments put together. In these advanced countries, the local bodies between them spend more money, undertake more enterprises, employ more officials and legislate more extensively than the central government. But, granting all this, it is evident that these organisations of local government are mostly the creations of the central government; that these local bodies owe their origin and constitution to a process of decentralisation, delegation or devolution of powers determined by the national legislature; that they are in the ultimate analysis but wheels of a common machine, parts of a single plant, and are not by any means "extra-legal" associations, devoid of any statutory warrant, and, therefore, in the eye of the law, possessed of no authority whatsoever.

In respect of the local self-government as it developed in India, however, we shall find that the Indian institutions are practically *sui generis*, representing a type which may be sharply distinguished from the type represented by the corresponding institutions in modern polity. The fundamental difference is that while, in the latter case, the state, as a fully developed and completely constituted body, consciously creates autonomous centres within itself by devo-

lution and delimitation of its own functions; in the former the communal institutions, guilds and local bodies have an independent origin and growth out of fluid and inchoate conditions of tribal life and organisation, and when the state comes to supervene or be superimposed upon these, it has to treat with them more or less on terms of equality, and recognise their pre-existing rights by conventions and agreements which operate as charters regulating their mutual relations. Thus, the varied interests of the communal life, such as administrative, judicial, civic, commercial or industrial, are assured by the voluntary co-operation of independent and integral units of a common body-politic.

The foregoing characterisation of the system of local government in ancient India, and the relations that obtained between state and society as independent organisations and centres of national life, will also, perhaps, help us to explain and account for the somewhat perplexing phenomenon of the rise of the few empires in the early Indian history; administering vast and varied areas and, on two occasions, a territory more extensive than British India stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore. It is difficult even to conceive how it was physically possible, in the absence of the modern means and facilities of communication, to control a continent from one centre in an isolated corner of India, such as that at Pataliputra, when the news of a disturbance beyond the north-western frontier in Aria or Arachosia would probably take six months' time to reach the headquarters of government. And yet the growth of such an imperial authority is attested by sober history. It is not, of course, sufficiently known that India in the olden times was not a land of jungles and wastes, but a land of abundant agriculture, brisk trade, numerous arts and crafts, convenient roads and trade routes with wells and rest-houses, shade-giving groves and fruit-bearing trees at regulated intervals, and prosperous cities. The Greek writers on 'Alexander's campaigns' speak of two thousand regular towns in the Punjab alone. But these material factors, though they go a great way, do not by themselves exhaust or constitute that assemblage of conditions which make the governance of empires of such colossal dimensions at all possible. The fact is that for an adequate explanation of this puzzling phenomenon, we have to look beyond the material and the objective, the physical and the natural, to the subjective and the spiritual aspects of the situation. Man's inventiveness is meant to triumph over the difficulties of his natural environment. And so the natural difficulties in the way of the Mauryan empire were solved by human statesmanship, by the application or evolution of a system of administration, giving effect to an extensive decentralisation and utmost latitude to the operations of local government, so that numerous autonomous centres were at work

to cope with the administrative requirements of an extensive territory. This appropriate administrative machinery was not, however, be it understood, so much the creation of the new empire-builders—and Asoka at least is very careful in distinguishing his *innovations* from his *inheritances*—as a legacy and a heritage handed down to them from older days. They found an administrative machinery, fairly adequate to its purposes, already in existence and operation, that has stood the test of centuries the strain of political revolutions, ministering to the normal needs of national life in the deeper strata of society, unaffected by the political currents that disturb the upper strata.—the changes in ruling dynasties,—and all the while conserving the vital elements in the culture of the race. It was such a machinery that made the way smooth for emperors, whose task was only to fight their way to the throne, win battles, maintain their power and adapt the pre-existing institutions to the requirements of the new times with their new problems. The most brilliant of the Indian emperors can be credited with but few administrative innovations. The fact of the matter is that just as the aloofness of society from the state has been the main means of its self-preservation when the state is engulfed in political revolutions, and the independent development of local government has provided, like the shell of the tortoise, a haven of peace, where the national culture can draw in for its own safety when political storms burst over the land—so also does this system serve to lighten considerably the burden of a new administration, so that the addition of mere space or territory does not materially add to its difficulties. The administration of the Mauryan empire was possible, because it did not cherish the ambition of setting up a centralised government consciously legislating for, and controlling the life of, every part of that vast whole, but only aimed at an elastic system of federalism or confederation, in which were incorporated, along with the central government at the metropolis, as parts of the same system, the indigenous local administrations. The essence of this imperial system was thus a recognition of local autonomy at the expense of the authority of the central government, which was physically unfit to assert itself except by its enforced affiliation to the pre-existing systems of local government.¹

¹ The absence of proper physical facilities, factors or conditions is, perhaps, one of the reasons why empires in ancient India have been so few and short-lived. The following observations of J. S. Mill [*Representative Government*, p. 4] are very interesting and appropriate to the point: "In the ancient world, though there might be, and often was, great individual or local independence, there could be nothing like a regulated popular government, beyond the bounds of a single city community; because there did not exist the physical conditions for the promotion and propagation of a public opinion, except among those who could be brought together to discuss public matter in the same agora. . . . There have been states of society in which even a monarch of any great territorial extent could not subsist but unavoidably broke up into petty principalities, either mutually independent, or held together by a loose tie like the feudal; because the machinery of authority was not perfect enough to carry orders into effect at a great distance from the person of the ruler. He depended mainly upon voluntary fidelity for the obedience even of his army, nor did there exist the means of making the people pay an amount of taxes sufficient for keeping up the force necessary to compel obedience throughout a large territory."

In the same way, the existence of a system of social self-government in practical independence of the ruling powers and unaffected by the vicissitudes of fortune, to which they are naturally exposed, will account for the somewhat remarkable fact that even during the period of so much unrest and unsettlement under the Mahometan rulers, Hindu-India was able to show a good record of material, mental and moral progress. Hindu-India was able to live her normal life, to continue the course of her normal intellectual and spiritual progress in her socio-economic system in which the Mahometan had no place. The alien kings took possession of the political capital of India, but they had to live in the suburbs of the heart of India. In this sense the so-called Mahometan period of Indian history is a misnomer, because it is the period of the usual Hindu activity, the normal course of which was hardly interrupted by the political changes of the times, which were nothing new to Indian history. The culture of the race kept up its uninterrupted flow, as is evident from the many intellectual and religious movements, and the appearance of many great men in the realms of thought and action which characterise the period. In the eighth century we have the great Brahmin preacher and reformer Kumarila, who called the people to the simpler Vedic religious rites and ceremonies in the midst of the confusion and corruptions of numerous sects. The ninth century is famous for Śaṅkarācārya, another gift of South India, the profound Sanskrit scholar and writer, an eloquent preacher and a great religious reformer and organiser, who travelled throughout India in pursuit of his spiritual *digvijaya* and imparted to Hinduism that broad philosophical basis and certain new elements which helped it to establish itself once again as the dominant and popular religion of India. The ascendancy of the Rajputs then followed in the later centuries, which meant an accession of strength to Hinduism, as evident from the multiplicity of sects and the sectarian controversies of the times, producing a crop of religious and philosophical literature composed generally in Sanskrit, of which the most numerous were those written by the Saiva worshippers of Kashmir. The intellectual history of the centuries is represented by such famous names as those of *Bhavabhūti* of the court first of Yasovarman of Kanauj and afterwards of Lalitāditya (730 A.D.); *Māgha* (800 A.D.); *Padmagupta* (950 A.D.); Sri Harsha, the author of *Naishadha*, (1150 A.D.), the courtier of Jayaachandra of Kanauj; Bhatta-Nārāyaṇa (850 A.D.) of the Pala court of Bihar; Rajaścēkhara (900 A.D.) of the Tomara court of Kanauj; Jaya Dēva (1100 A.D.); and the Kashmirian poets Somadēva, Kshēmēndra and Bilhana of the twelfth century, and the chronicler Kalhaṇa, author of *Rājatarangīni*. In the eleventh century southern India witnessed the great Lingayat revival under Basava, and in the twelfth the Vaishṇavite revival under Rāmānuja, followed by the great Brahmaṇa teacher of the Kanarese.

country. Mādhva Pūrṇaprajña, who died towards the close of the same century. Later on, a fresh instance of Hindu vitality is found in the growth of the Vijayanagara empire, which was at once a centre of both literary and political life as represented by the famous *Sāyaṇāchārya* and his school. The same period also saw the birth farther south of Vedāntadeśikāchārya, the renowned Vaiṣṇavite scholar and poet. There was also a similar Vaiṣṇavite revival in northern India due to the appearance of Rāmānanda and of his disciple Kabir (1380-1420), whom both Hindus and Mahometans equally honoured. Bengal under her Mahometan rulers was also showing phenomenal literary and religious activity round Vaishṇavaism as its mainspring. She even converted her alien ruler Nasir Shah (1282-1325), who ordered the first Bengal rendering of the *Mahābhārata*, and is immortalised by the poet Vidyāpati by his dedication to him of one of his poems. It was about this time that Kirttivāsa was translating the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Bengali, and Mālādhār Basu was employed by Hussain Shāh to translate the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The same period saw Vidyāpati Thakur singing the songs of Vaishṇavaism in Behar in the Maithili dialect, Chandidās singing in Bengal, and Mira Bai in Mewār, until the spiritual soil and environment of the country were ripe for the birth of the two great religious leaders, each founder of an independent sect of Vaishṇavaism, viz., Vallabhāchārya, who has still numerous followers in Central India, Bombay, and Guzarat, and Śrī Chaitanya of Navadvipa in Bengal (1485-1527), who was the cause of a profound intellectual and religious renaissance, the founder of a renovated Vaishṇavaism, who deluged the country with floods of spiritual enthusiasm that produced a bountiful crop of saints and singers, and a vast and varied devotional literature. And the vitality of the national culture and civilisation of the Hindus was thus asserting itself when Tamerlane was harrying the political India under the Pathans, and she was about to pass under Mogul monarchy. But Bengal was not merely active in poetry and religion, for Kulluka Bhatta was writing his famous commentary on 'Manu,' and Jimūtavāhana his great legal work *Dāyabhāga*, a task that was done for Behar and the West in the eleventh century by Vijñānesvara in his *Mitāksharā*.

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Local bodies in ancient India had also their *municipal* departments. They are termed *samūhas* for the purpose in some of the Smritis. For the proper discharge of civic functions and the administration of the various interests of municipal life, an agreement was drawn up in writing forming the Memorandum and Articles of the Association, of which the members were bound to fulfil their legitimate part in promoting the manifold public works

necessary for communal welfare. Deliberate violations of the agreement were severely punished either by banishment or confiscation of property. An attitude of passive indifference to the agreement or of opposition to it was also punished by a heavy fine. Those who created disunion in the association were also similarly dealt with. According to the *Kautiliya*, 'whoever stays away from any kind of co-operative undertaking shall send his servants and bullocks to carry on his work, shall have a share in the expenditure but none in the profits.' (II, i.) The purposes for the promotion of which these municipal bodies were constituted embraced quite a wide area of useful activity, which could not be left to the efforts of individuals but was proper only for communal enterprise. They are thus enumerated by Brihaspati: Preservation and maintenance of public halls, temples, tanks, rest-houses, wells for supply of drinking water to travellers, construction of water-courses and places of worship, protection against incursions of wicked people and relief of the distressed. We thus find that these municipalities addressed themselves not only to the ordinary material interests of communal life, such as sanitation and water-supply, but also to the interests of public and spiritual life by the provision of halls for public meetings and temples for public worship. They also organised the communal charities which embraced not merely the *secular* relief of the poor in times of famine and other calamities (*Kulāyana Nirodhascha*), but also their religious or spiritual ministrations which included the performance of purificatory rites for the destitute and poor, *viz.*, arrangements for the cremation of dead paupers, distribution of gifts among people desirous of performing religious acts, etc. Thus the sphere of the administration of Poor Law was widened, so as to bring within its compass provision for the spiritual necessities in the life of the destitute as fixed by the *śāstrās*. In another passage Brihaspati includes financial support in aid of the idiot, the infirm, the blind, the orphan, the distressed, as also diseased persons and women, among the legitimate purposes to which an association could apply its fund.

Finally, it should be noted that the legitimate activities and functions of the municipalities were not rigidly and strictly restricted within the limits of the agreement aforesaid, but that they were allowed freedom of action against emergencies, provided such action was not contrary to their constitution. (See *Yājñavalkya*).

Much interesting evidence is supplied by South Indian inscriptions as regards one branch of municipal activity, *viz.*, the irrigation works. For this purpose compulsory labour seems to have been employed by the assemblies in the interests of the community. Even the central government sometimes exploited compulsory labour for its own purposes. The great temple of Tanjore.

for instance, was built largely by forced labour. The indigenous irrigation system comprised generally tanks and channels, which were built up partly by individual benefactions and partly by communal enterprise. Whatever be their origin, the duty of maintaining and keeping them in repair came to be recognised by custom to fall upon the village community. And, accordingly, most of the inscriptions deal with the means employed for repairing them and keeping them in proper condition after they were constructed. The commonest kind of repair which we find mentioned as being necessary was the removal of accumulated silt. Towards this, provision was made for the supply of boats, of baskets in which to lift the earth, of labourers, of skilled workmen to take care of the boats, and of fishermen to provide certain kinds of necessaries. As regards actual examples of such works of olden times, we find two tanks in the Chinglepet district of the Madras Presidency being mentioned in inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. There is other epigraphic and literary evidence which carries back the existence of irrigation works to still more remote times. An interesting summary of the facts set out in the inscriptions is given by Mr. Venkayya in the *Archæological Survey Report for 1903-04*. The most famous tank seems to have been Vayiramēga-thātāka at Uttaramallūr in the Chinglepet district. An inscription records (*Ibid* p. 204) the provision made by a private individual for removing silt in the tank in the form of an endowment which was accepted by the village assembly, which undertook to arrange for the removal of silt every month. Another states that certain ryots having failed to pay the dues on their holdings, the village assembly paid the amount for them and took over their land for the benefit of the tank for three years. If, at the end of that period, the defaulters should return and pay up all their dues, they were to get back the land. Otherwise it would be sold for the benefit of the tank. If any man of Uttaramallūr objected to this course, his own land was to be sold similarly and the sale proceeds credited to the tank, while the man himself was to be dealt with as an enemy of the village (*grāma-kantaka*). If an arbitrator objected, he should be banished from the village. There are seven more records which relate to the same tank and express the care of the community for it and the widespread appreciation of its uses. The earliest of them registers a transaction relating apparently to another tank and imposes on those who violate it a fine to be credited to the funds of the tank. The next records a gift of land and the third of gold accepted by the assembly for the removal of silt during three months of the year. The fourth registers a gift of gold and paddy by a private donor from the interest which the assembly had to meet the cost of removing silt for two months. The next two refer to a gift of two hundred *kalanju* of gold, the interest from

which amounting to thirty *kalañju* per year was to be spent annually in removing silt from the tank and depositing it on the *bund* by the village assembly, who expressed their gratification at this charitable act of the donor and exempted him from payment of certain taxes. It is interesting to note that the rate of the interest is definitely stated in this record, *viz.*, fifteen per cent. per annum, which is higher than the rate usually stated in the inscriptions mentioned above. The last but not the least interesting record registers a permanent deposit of hundred *kalañju* of gold with the assembly, on the interest of which they had to provide for the up-keep of a "second boat" on the tank to be employed in removing silt. Every day a certain specified extent of the tank was to be cleared and the mud deposited on the *bund*.

A tank with a sluice is mentioned in an inscription in North Arcot District which records a gift of land, the income from which was to be spent in removing silt from a second tank in the same village. Those who look after the gift are assured of acquiring the merit of performing a horse sacrifice! One of the Ukkal inscriptions (*Hultzsch*, S. I. Ins. Vol. III; Part I, p. 9) has the following:—"We, the assembly, shall close (the sluice of) the tank (to collect water for irrigation) and shall cause five hundred *kādi* of paddy to be supplied as interest every year on these one thousand *kādi* of paddy. The great men elected for the year shall cause (the paddy) to be supplied." The rate of interest in this record is fifty per cent per annum.

Coming to the times of the Cholas, we find stated in an inscription of the twelfth year of the reign of king Parāntaka I. (=A.D. 917) that a donation of gold made by one of the king's officers for feeding Brahmanas was utilised by the "tank supervision committee" to pay the wages of the workman employed to remove silt in the "big tank of our village" (named *Kāvērīpāk*). The tank must have been built long before A.D. 917.

Most interesting details are given by two inscriptions at Naṅgavaram assigned roughly to the time of prince Ariṅjaya, son of Parāntaka I, *i.e.*, about the middle of the tenth century A.D. One of them records a sale of land during the reign of the Chola king Rājakesarivarman by the village assembly to a private person on account of the boat plying in the tank. The second furnishes details as to how the income from this land was to be spent. The boat was to be employed for clearing the tank of silt. The operation is fully described. One hundred and forty baskets of earth each with capacity to hold six *marakkal* (*i.e.*, about two hundred cubic feet) of earth were to be taken out of the tank and deposited on the *bund* daily. The establishment comprised a *supervisor* who received the wages of one and half *kurunī* of paddy *per diem.* and under him *six labourers* who were full-time workmen and, therefore, paid higher wages, *viz.*, one *paḍakku* of paddy per head *per*

diem for both food and clothing; a *carpenter* and a *blacksmith* for, repairing the boat, each of whom got annually two and half *kalam* of paddy; and the fishermen (number not mentioned) who supplied wood for repairs to the boat and got two *kalam* of paddy annually. The village assembly had to get the land cultivated and to pay for the whole process out of the income. If they failed to do it, the then reigning king could fine them and get it done. Altogether the total annual expenditure for the operation amounted to four hundred and twelve *kalam* of paddy.¹

An inscription of Rājārāja I. mentions a big tank at Bāhūr near Pondichery, where the villagers agreed to contribute to the revenue of the tank. The tank committee of the assembly levied the contributions and undertook annual removal of the silt. Any villager refusing to pay had to pay a fine to be credited to the tank-fund under king's orders. An Ukkal inscription refers to the sale of some land to a private person by the village assembly, who were to provide out of its income for the up-keep of two boats assigned to a tank. The boats were probably meant not only for crossing purposes as explained by Dr. Hultze (S. I. Ins. Vol. III, p. 15), but also for the usual work of removing the silt.

We need not refer to the irrigation works mentioned in the later Chola, Pāndya and Vijayanagara inscriptions, but will refer to some in the Telugu and Kanarese countries. These are "the great tank, a reservoir for the supply of adundant water," built at Tālaguṇḍa in the Shimoga district of Mysore by the Kadamba king Kākusthavarmān in the first half of the sixth century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 7, p. 20); another at Chickballāpur in the Kolār district mentioned in a record of A.D. 977-78 (No. 126 of 1892); and

¹ One *kalam* - twelve *marakkāl* or *kuruṇi*. One *pāḍakku* - two *kuruṇi*.

Thus the supervisor, carpenter and blacksmith received less wages than the labourers. Inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājārāja I. (A.I., 985-1013) give the rate of wages paid to the various kinds of labourers employed on the temple at Tanjore. "Fifty *kalam* of paddy was given annually to each *drummer* and *barber*; seventy-five to each under-carpenter and under-accountant; hundred to each of the following, *vis.*, watchmen, dancing girls, washermen, tailors, braziers and superintending goldsmiths; one hundred and fifty to a master-carpenter, one hundred and seventy-five to a lute-player, two hundred to the accountant and dancing master. Brāhmaṇa servants got one *pāḍakku* of paddy per day and four *kāṣṭu* annually; while vocalists who had to sing hymns were paid three *kuruṇi* per day. Paddy seems to have been sold at the rate of two *kalam* per *kāṣṭu*, while the rate of interest was, as we have seen above, twelve and half per cent. For one *kāṣṭu* three sheep could be bought, while one she-buffalo was exchanged for three cows or six ewes; one thousand and two hundred plantains could be had for one *kāṣṭu*." In another inscription (S. I. Ins. Vol. II, p. 259, Part III), the [wages are indicated in shares of land; thus a jewel-stitcher got one and half share, brazier one share, master-carpenter one and half share, superintending goldsmith one share and so forth, and the comparison of these rates with the above will show that one share of land probably yielded one hundred *kalam* of paddy annually.

another, with a sluice constructed at Sindhuvaḷḷi in the Mysore district in A.D. 1106-7, during the reign of the Chola king Kulottunga I. (No. 3 of 1895). Several inscriptions at Bāgali in the Bellary district record gifts made to the "big tank" for repairs, etc.

Some irrigation channels are mentioned in the inscriptions, e.g., the Uyyakkonḍān in the Trichinopoly district of the time of Rājarāja I, the head-sluice of the Peria-vāykkāl in the same district built of stone during the reign of Rājarāja III. about A.D. 1219.

Remedies against breaches in the tank *bunds* and other similar accidents beyond human control were generally provided by private charity. Thus in A.D. 1189-90, for instance, heavy rains caused breaches in the tank at So-mangalam (Chinglepet) which were repaired by a chief. There were two breaches next year also repaired by him, but he then made a money endowment, from the interest of which the assembly agreed to carry out the instructions of the donor by depositing a certain specified quantity of earth on the *bund* annually. (No. 183 of 1901.)

From the evidence adduced above it is clear that the tanks, sluices and irrigation channels were always maintained by local bodies, though their construction was often due to private or royal benefactions.¹ The maintenance of tanks really meant the periodical removal of its silt and the work devolved upon the municipal department or rather "the tank committee" of the village assembly, who were put in charge of endowments of both money and land for the purpose by private donors. We have also seen that preservation of tanks was regarded as a religious work, bringing great spiritual merit to the man providing for it. Tanks themselves, like temples, had endowments of land or money of their own; the repairs were executed at the expense of these endowments. In the Kanarese country, the term *kodagi* denotes a grant of land rent-free for the purpose of service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks, or of their maintenance in good order. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 51.) In the absence of suitable endowments or private charity, the assemblies themselves offered land from the cultivable wastes of the village as an inducement to undertake such works, and where such wastes

¹ The motive for such benefactions was probably connected with the prevailing belief that the spirit of a dead man is consumed by extraordinary thirst, and that it has to be appeased by charities of a watershed, well or tank. An instance of this is mentioned in a record of the time of Rājarāja I. (see *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1914), and another in the twenty-sixth year of his reign recording a gift of land for maintaining a watershed in order that the thirsty spirit of his sister, the deceased queen Vīramahādēvi (evidently the wife of king Rājendra Chola I.) might be appeased (*Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1916, p. 118). No. 422 of 1915, however, quotes the words of the *Mahābhārata* stating that the person in whose tank the thirsty cows, beasts, birds and men drink water obtains the fruit of performing the *Aśwamedha* sacrifice, thus expressing probably the true motive of these secular charities.

were not available, nor private enterprise and charity, they themselves undertook them at the joint expenses of the villagers who all benefitted by same. Thus probably arose the custom of *kudimarāmat* in southern India, by which the employment of compulsory labour for repairs to irrigation works is sanctioned.

It should be noted that committee members were expected to take an active part in the discussion of questions before the meetings. We have already seen how in an inscription from the Telugu country eloquence at committee assemblies is extolled as a special merit. The rules of debate are indicated in an inscription of the ninth century A.D. discovered in Tinnevely, which forbids the persistent obstruction of the proceedings of the assembly by members saying 'nay, nay' to every proposal brought up before the assembly and contains the further provision, "that those who do this, together with their supporters, will pay a fine of five *kāṣu* on each item on which they have so behaved." (No. 423 of 1906.)

We should note in this connection the total number of members expected to form a meeting of the assembly. The number should be at least that of all the various sub-committees put together which will thus come up to forty-two. I have found but one inscription (No. 466 of 1912), which incidentally indicates the number by mentioning a deed of gift signed by about fifty persons, evidently the members of the assembly.

It may be pertinent to refer in this connection to other available evidence regarding the conduct of the meetings of the assemblies. The most interesting and important evidence is set forth in some of the Pāli works regarding the proceedings of the meetings of the Buddhist religious assembly of the *saṅgha*.

When Bhikkhus in chapter assembled became violent, quarrelsome, disputatious and kept on wounding one another with sharp words, the dispute was to be settled by 'the vote of the majority.'

The votes were to be signified by *tickets* (as in the south Indian epigraphic evidence).

A 'taker of the voting tickets' was to be appointed. He should have the following five qualifications, *viz.*, freedom from partiality, malice, folly, fear, as also knowledge of what votes have been taken and what have not been taken. "Some able and discreet Bhikkhu" was to bring forward a "motion" (*nātti*), that the Bhikkhu 'of such and such a name' should be appointed as taker of the voting tickets. The consent of the Bhikkhu proposed to undertake the office was, of course, previously obtained. The motion was then placed before the house for its opinion. Those who approved of it were to keep silence. Those who were against it were to speak.

The 'taking of votes' (*Salākagāhā*) was necessary in the case of a division. It was regarded as invalid in the following *ten* cases, *viz*:—

- (1) When the matter in dispute is trivial;
- (2) when the case has not run its course (*i.e.*, when the necessary preliminaries of submission to arbitration have not been carried out);
- (3) when regarding the matter in dispute the Bhikkhus have not formally remembered, or been formally called upon to remember, the offence;
- (4) when the taker of votes knows that those whose opinions are not in accordance with the law will be in the majority, or
- (5) probably may be in the majority;
- (6) when he knows that the voting will result in a schism in the *saṅgha*;
- (7) when he is in doubt whether the voting will result in a schism in the *saṅgha*;
- (8) when the votes are irregularly given;
- (9) when all do not vote equally;
- (10) when they do not vote in accordance with the view they really hold.

The above conditions showing the solicitude felt for the purity, fairness, frankness, and freedom of debate are well worthy of observance at modern political and other meetings. The voting was not rushed, but a full opportunity was given to the house to understand the questions at issue. Care was also taken that the voting represented the actual opinion of the voter, whose independence and conscientiousness were not allowed to be affected by any undue influence or considerations of partisanship. The only limitation upon the freedom of discussion and decision by the majority of votes was that imposed by certain fundamental religious considerations which formed the very basis of the brotherhood and violations of which would imply the dissolution of the *saṅgha* or order itself. On such serious questions, no voting was allowed, and the principle of the equality of votes of all members was not recognised simply because a difference of opinion on them will destroy that unity of the church, which it was the aim by such free and frank discussions in meetings to strengthen and develop.

There was also the practice of appointing special committees to deal with difficult or intricate cases, which were unfit to be dealt with by the general *saṅgha*. Such a committee or jury or commission was to consist of Bhikkhus 'possessed of ten qualities,' mental and moral, including proficiency in the tradition and rules of the church, as well as capacity to deal with legal

questions. An instance of this proceeding is also recorded, where the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the *saṅgha* at Vesāṭi: "Let the venerable *saṅgha* hear me. Whilst we are discussing this legal question, there is both much pointless speaking, and no sense is clear in any single speech. *If it seem meet to the 'saṅgha,' let the 'saṅgha' settle this legal question by referring it to a jury. . . .*" Again: "If it seem meet to the *saṅgha*, let the *saṅgha* delegate four Bhikkhus of the east and four Bhikkhus of the west (all named) to settle this question by reference. This is the resolution." Again: "Let the venerable *saṅgha* hear me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been much pointless talk among us, and the sense in any single utterance is not clear. The *saṅgha* delegates four Bhikkhus of the east and four Bhikkhus of the west to settle this question by reference. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let him keep silence. The delegation is made accordingly. The *saṅgha* approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand." The *saṅgha* then appointed a Bhikkhu of ten years' standing as seat regulator to the *thera* Bhikkhus (the eight referees) who were to take their seats in the order of their seniority. The duty of the seat-regulator (*asana-paṇṇāpaka*) was to see that they were provided with the seats they required (usually mats or rugs) in the hall or grove where they met. In the present instance the sub-committee repaired to the *Valika Arāma*, "a pleasant place, quiet and undisturbed" to "settle the matter there."

There also seem to have been some well-understood conditions which would make a meeting of the *saṅgha* itself void. There must be present in the meeting "as many Bhikkhus as are capable of taking part in the proceeding." "The formal consent must be produced of those who are in a fit state to convey their consent. Those who are present must have lodged no objection (against any one of them taking part in the proceeding, or perhaps against the proceedings which are being carried out)."¹

Meetings of assemblies are referred to even in the Vedas. The *Rig-Veda* (X, 71, 10) thus appreciates a successful speaker and debater: "All friends are joyful in the friend who cometh in triumph, having conquered in the assembly. He is their blame-avertor, food-provider, prepared is he and fit for deed of vigour." The *Ātharva-Veda* (VII, 12, 4) thus refers to a piece of persuasive oratory arresting the attention of the audience: "Whether your thoughts are turned away or bound, and fastened here or there, we draw them hitherward again: let your mind firmly rest on me." In *Atharva-Veda* II, 27, a speaker seeks the help of spells and magic herbs to stimulate his eloquence in debate (*prāś*) and overcome his rival debaters (*prati-*

¹ See *Chullavagga*, IV, 9, 10, 14 on the whole subject.

prāsita). In A.V. VII, 12, 3, the debater prays to Indra for the palm and pre-eminence in the meeting of the assembly: "I appropriate to myself all the power of knowledge and wisdom that belongs to the members of the assembly: Indra, make me conspicuous in all this gathered assembly, so that I may monopolise its attention." The members were also anxious that their speeches should be free from impropriety and rudeness, and always agreeable and fair and never foul. (A.V., VII, 12, 1.) They even prayed for forgiveness of any sins of omission or commission of which they might be guilty in their debates at meetings: "Each fault in the assembly . . . that we have done . . . even of that sin, thou (*Sūrya*) art the expiation." (*The White Yajur-Vēda*, XX, 17.) The respect for the meeting was also thus expressed: "Homage to the assemblies and to you, presidents of the assemblies." (*I.b.* XVI, 24.)

Like the Pāli evidence, the epigraphic evidence of South India is also indicative of full attendance at the meetings of the assemblies. In the *Mahā-parinibbāṇa Sūta* (I. 4), the Buddha tells Ānanda that, 'so long as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, so long they may be expected not to decline but to prosper,' so great was his appreciation of the efficacy of the national interest in such institutions. Similarly, an inscription of Rājādhirāja of A.D. 1046, records a meeting of the assembly 'without a vacancy,' a fact which is again repeated in an inscription, dated in the fourth year of the reign of Rājendra Chola II. (Hultzsch, *S. I. Ins.* Vol. III, pp. 57, 173.)

Meetings of the assembly were, of course, held in the public hall of the village. In Vēdic India, the hall served as a meeting place for social intercourse and general conversation as also debates and verbal contests. [*R. V.* VI. 28, 6; VIII, 4, 9; A. V. VII, 12, 2-3; also *R. V.* ii. 24, 13 (*Sabheya*).] The hall was also used for dicing, presumably when the assembly was not transacting public business (*R. V.* X, 34, 6; A. V. V, 31, 6; XII, 3, 46); a dicer is called *sabhā-sthānu*, 'pillar of the assembly-hall,' doubtless because of his constant presence there. (*Vājasaneyi Samhita*, XXX, 18; *Taittiriya Br.*; III, 4, 16, 1, with Sāyaṇa's note.) The administrative and judicial business of some of the autonomous clans of Buddhist India was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present in their common Mote-Hall (*Santhāgāra*) at Kapi-lavastu. When king Pasenadi asked for one of the daughters of the Sākiya chiefs as his wife, the Sākiyas discussed the proposition in their Mote-Hall. A new Mote-Hall was constructed at Kapilavastu, whilst the Buddha was staying at the Nigrodhārāma in the Mahāvana near-by. He was asked to inaugurate the new hall, and the opening ceremony was accompanied by a series

of ethical discourses lasting through the night delivered by himself, Ānanda and Moggallāna. (Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, 19, 20.) Similarly, the Licchavi assembly was composed of numerous members who are mentioned in the *Jātakas* as holding their meeting in a "royal rest-house," (IV. 7-24), once to discuss a marriage proposal (IV. 145), and at another time to make arrangements for the reception of a prince of a neighbouring royal house. (IV. 146.) In some of the *Smritis* (e.g., *Bṛhaspati*) one of the duties of the village assemblies (called *Samūha*) laid down is the maintenance of public halls, while in one of the Nasik inscriptions cited above there occurs the expression *Nigama-sabhā*, or the town-hall, where the charitable or religious endowments were publicly proclaimed and accepted by the guilds and registered in their archives. The same evidence is also forthcoming in the south Indian inscriptions. One of the Ukkal inscriptions (No. 7 of *S. I. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 12) mentions the assembly meeting in the front hall of the Puvanimāṇikka-Viṣṇugriham in the village (*Sans.*, *Mukha-maṇḍapam*). Three inscriptions copied at Nattam, a hamlet of Paramēśvaramaṅgalam in the Chinglepet district, refer to the hall (*Chatuṣśālā*) known as Rājēndraśolan in the village, where the assembly used to meet (*Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1912-13, p. 98). In some other inscriptions is recorded a gift of a jewel-like hall (*śālā*) at Kāṇḍalūr by king Rājaraṇa Dēva (*S. I. Ins.*, Vol. I, Nos. 40, 146, 66 and the *Koṅgu Chronicle*, p. 64). In No. 653, of 1909, the assembly of a Brahmadēya village meet under a tamarind tree called *Rājēndrachōlam*. In Tamil inscriptions we generally find village assemblies meeting either in a *maṇḍapa* built for the purpose, or in a temple. 'The peculiar circumstances under which the Mahājanas of Pāvaikudi met under a tamarind tree reminds us of the village *pipul* tree with the high platform round it in the centre of almost every hamlet in the Mysore country, where questions concerning the village public are decided by the people gathered in the assembly.' (*Madras Epigraphy Report*, 1909-10, p. 90). No. 398 of 1913 (*M. E. Report*) mentions an assembly of a Brahmadāya village meeting in a hall called *Tiruvaramangadevan*. No. 178 of 1915 mentions the great assembly at Madhurāntakachaturvedimaṅgalam, including the young and the old meeting together in the high hall called *Śembiyaṇmahādevi-perumaṇḍapam* built by Rājaraṇa I, evidently for the purpose of the meetings of the assembly.

Other kinds of public buildings and institutions in the villages and towns may be noted in this connexion. One inscription registers the gift of a *matha* (=a college) in the western street for reciting the *Vēda* to a temple (*Ibid.*, p. 125). Another refers to the *matha* of Āṇḍār Sundara-Perumāl at Kañchipuram. (*Ibid.*, p. 123.) A third inscription (*Ibid.*, p. 86) registers the gift of one house and a house-garden of forty-one feet for purposes of a *matha*

together with some land mortgaged to it as a guarantee for regular supply of rice. "The succession of pupils (of the donee) shall enjoy this *matha* as long as the moon and the sun endure." An inscription attributed to Kṛṣṇa III, of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty (A.D. 940-956) mentions fines payable into court called *dharmāsana*. (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 12.) An inscription of the eastern Chalukya dynasty mention two *sattras* (i.e., alms-houses) for Brāhmanas (*S. I. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 61) and another a *mandapa* "which was to be used as a water-shed and *sattram*. (*Ibid.*, p. 136.) No. 465 of 1909 assigned to Kula-sēkhara I. records a gift of two villages for a Vaiṣṇava's *matha*, where learned Brāhmanas from eighteen Vaishnava countries were to be fed. No. 181 of 1912 refers to a *mathathi-pati*, who is an important functionary always appearing on temple councils in later records. No. 509 of 1912 records a sale of land belonging to a temple for a *matha*. An interesting series of inscriptions from Kurnool district assigned to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. refers to a famous *matha* named *Golakimatha*, which is stated to have wielded its spiritual influence over three lakhs of villages under a succession of famous teachers. Another important *matha* was that of the *Mahāvratins* mentioned in No. 423 of 1914. A series of epigraphic records in South India relates to *mathas* connected with Śaivism which grew in power and popularity under the Chola kings, so that by the thirteenth century we notice a number of them under Śaiva *Samnyasins* influencing the greater part of the Tamil country. No. 467 of 1908 refers to a *matha* called *Tiruvāḡisam-Rājendra-śōlan* at Tiruchchattimuram, and another *matha* at Śēmbaikkudi. (*Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1908-09, p. 103.) Other *mathas* connected with the *Śivayōgins* or *Māhesvaras* are mentioned in Nos. 164, 177, 402, 583 of 1908. Besides this there was also another institution called *guhāi*, or a monastery. No. 471 of 1912 records the gift of such a monastery for a Śaiva saint by a village, which also provided for the feeding of all strangers who might visit it. The property of this monastery was confiscated in the twenty-second year of Kulottunga Chola III, when there was a general crusade against these non-Brahmanical Śaiva-maths instigated by the Brahmanas. The *maths* were not, however, altogether suppressed since we find them flourishing in the time of Rājārāja III.

But villages had not only their public halls and temples, *mathas* and monasteries but also schools of learning. One of the most interesting of such schools is mentioned in No. 202 of 1912, which registers the generous gift of a donor who assigned some land for the maintenance of a *grammar-hall* in the temple, at Tiruvorraiyūr, called *Vyākṛaṇa-dāna-Vyākhyāna mandapa* for the up-keep of the teachers and pupils who would study grammar there, and for the worship of the god *Vyākṛana-dāna-Perumāl* (i.e., Śiva) who

in that very *maṇḍapa* was pleased to appear before Pāṇini-Bhagavān for fourteen continuous days and to teach him the first fourteen aphorisms (with which begins Pāṇini's grammar) known as "Māheśwara Sūtras." This famous school of grammar is referred to in other later records. No. 110 of 1912 assigned to the thirteenth year of Sundara Pāṇḍya-Dēva III registers an agreement by which the residents of Pular-kottam submit to a special tax levied in the northern and southern divisions of Tiruvorraiyūr for maintaining the same historic *maṇḍapam* and other similar buildings of the temple. No. 201 of 1912 in the thirty-eighth year of Kulottunga Chola III. registers the gift by a private person of a village for the up-keep of the same grammar-hall and refers to the king's declaration making the village rent-free. No. 120 of 1912 again registers the king's gift of a village and some gold ornaments to the god *Vyākaraṇa-dāna*-Perumāl at the instance of a femal devotee, the king being Kulottunga Chola III. One of the temple priests was also called *Vyākaraṇa-dāna-bhatta* after the god Śiva, who 'gave' grammar to Pāṇini.

Similarly No. 182 of 1915 refers to the benefactions of a Vaiṣya named Mādhava, who constructed the surrounding halls of a temple and also a *maṇḍapa* called *Jananātha-maṇḍapa*, where by the royal grant of Virarājendra-dēva (A.D. 1062) were established: (1) a school for the study of the *Vēdas*, *Śāstras*, Grammar, *Rūpavatāra*, etc.; (2) a hostel for students; and (3) a hospital. The students were provided with food, bathing-oil on Saturdays, and with oil for lamps. The *hospital* was named *Viṣṭolam* and was provided with fifteen beds for sick people. The staff and establishment for the school-hostel and hospital comprised one physician, in whose family the privilege of administering medicines was hereditary, one surgeon, two servants who fetched drugs, supplied fuel and did other services for the hospital, two maid-servants for nursing the patients, and one general servant for the hostel and hospital. Among the medicines stored in the hospital are mentioned *āśā-hāritaki*, *gomūtra-hāritaki*, *daśamūla-hāritaki*, *bhallātaka-hāritaki*, *bileādi-ghritam*, *vajrakalpam*, *kalyāṇa-lavaṇam* and some varieties of *tailam*, or oils—medicines which are still in use under the indigenous medical systems of the land. This is probably one of the best pieces of evidence on the schools, hostels and hospitals of ancient India. (See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1916, p. 119.)

No. 518 of 1915 similarly registers the gift of a Chālukyan queen to the one hundred and forty *mahājanas* of a village belonging to her for the maintenance of a feeding house (*Sattrā*), the commentator (on *Śāstras*), the reader of the *Purāṇas*, the teacher of *Rig-Veda* and *Yajurveda* to students.

Another most remarkable example of secular charities, of the establishment of a school, a hospital and feeding-house is recorded in a huge pillar

inscription at Malkāpuram in the Guntūr taluk of the Guntūr district, which "is of a very great interest both for the historical information it supplies regarding the Kākatīya kings and for the detailed account which it gives of the famous Pāṣupata teachers, who preceded Viśveśvara-Śivāchārya of the Gauḍa country, who was himself the royal preceptor and highly learned scholar." (*Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1917, p. 122.) This celebrated religious leader used one of the many royal gifts bestowed upon him to found at Mandaram (the present *Maṇḍadam*) all the institutions necessary for the commonweal, viz., temple, monastery, feeding-house; settlements of families of (Drāviḍa) Brāhmaṇas, schools for students of Śaiva Puritans together with a *maternity* and a *hospital*. Three teachers were appointed for teaching the three Vēdas, and five for logic, literature and the *āgamas*. There were also appointed one doctor and one accountant (*Kāyastha*). For the *matha* and feeding-house were provided six Brāhmaṇa servants. Village-guards called *Virābhadras* were also appointed together with village craftsmen called *Viramustis*, who had to do the duties of goldsmith, coppersmith, mason, bamboo-worker, blacksmith, potter, architect, carpenter, barber and artisan. In the feeding-house arrangements were made for the feeding, at all times, of men of all castes from the Brāhmaṇa down to the Chandāla— a remarkable instance of toleration and catholicity worthy of the creed by the donor. It was also directed that the presiding teacher, who was appointed to supervise these charities was liable to removal for neglect of duty, or misconduct by the entire Śaiva community (*Sāntānikā*). There are other inscriptions to show that the same strict regulations applied to Śaiva teachers appointed as heads of *mathas*. (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. p. XII, 290, f. and *Ibid.*)

REVIEWS

Madhura-Vijayam, or Vira-Kamparaya-Charitam

BY GANGADEVI (TRIVANDRAM, 1916)

THIS is a Sanskrit *kavya* modelled on the *Mahakavyas* of Kalidasa and conforming, as a matter of course, to the dicta of the *sahityalankara*-writers on that subject. The book has been printed with the help of a single manuscript, as other manuscripts of the same are unknown. This manuscript too is imperfect, shows many gaps, and has lost a number of leaves (*patras*) at the end, so that it is not possible to determine how many stanzas and *sargas* (cantos) the work originally contained. The printed book gives the text (with many lacunæ) of the first eight cantos and about twenty-two stanzas besides.

The book is written in a simple and graceful style, and describes the story of prince Kampana, eldest son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagar, from his birth to his capture of Madhura (c. A.D. 1370) after the defeat of the Muhammadan ruler of that place. The amount of historical information to be gleaned from the book is rather meagre; such as it is, it has been brought together in the Introduction which has been written by Mr. Gopinatha Rao.

The author of the book *Gangadevi*, has been identified by the editors and by Mr. Gopinatha Rao with Ganga, one of the consorts of the prince Kampana, who is introduced in canto vii as a poetess. It is possible that this identification is correct; but as, at present, there is no evidence whatsoever except the identity of names to support such an identification, it is preferable to let this question remain open.

A. V.

The Mysore Archæological Report for 1917

IT is like attempting to paint the lily or to add one more hue to the rainbow, when one wishes to praise Mr. R. Narasimhacharya's annual reports. He is imbued with the science of his art to such an extent that no detail, however minute, necessary for the correct understanding of an object is omitted. In fact, he is so strictly scientific, one would wish he were a trifle more discursive and gave us an inkling of what he thinks of some of the facts he notices: as, for instance, in para 10,

where in one of the Halebid temples he notices a frieze of *makaras* with tiny human figures hestriding them. The cult of the crocodile, so emphatic a feature of Egyptian religion, is surmised to have obtained an equal vogue in north-western India, and classical writers who have written of India in Alexander's days, refer to its prevalence among one of the numerous tribes of Indo-Parthia. What has our *makara* frieze so rare among the decorations of Indian architecture to do with this long-extinct cult?

But to proceed. The topsy-turveydom, due to ignorance, exhibited by the P. W. D. officials, who have restored (!) the Kedareshwara temple is a standing wonder. The mistakes made (see para 12) are so fatuous, one is tempted to surmise whether it is mere ignorance after all, and not something very much like deliberate "cussedness." In para 15, one of the superb perforated screens inside the Kesava temple, at Belur, has four figures of Prahlada wearing on their forebeads the *tengalainamam*. The learned author says that this discovery is of some interest as proving the antiquity of this caste-mark. Knowing, as we do, that the origin of the schism that adopted this mark lies somewhere about the middle of the fourteenth century, and that the screen in question was put up by Ballala II. in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, it behoves those interested in the question to see whether the downward projection of these marks is a later addition. Mr. Narasimmachar places before us another mystery, where he mentions that among the sculptures of Viranarayana temple, is "a peculiar standing figure with three crowned heads, holding a *divus* and conch in the upper hands," which figure, he says, seems to be neither Brahma nor Dattatreya. What else can it be then, and what connection has this with the more famous tri-facial colossi of the western caves!

. A Lakshmi-Devi temple discovered at Doddagaddavalli, twelve miles from Hassan, is said to be a typical example of Hoysala architecture, as it is a quadruple one and appears to be the only Hoysala building of this kind in the state. The splendid images and carvings of this temple receive a close description at the author's hands, and we cannot but bewail with him when he goes on to mention the neglected condition in which the shrine is allowed to be, several of the figures lying about the precincts mutilated and uncared for. To the Hindu sons of Mysore, who swear by the lion-*vahana* of their beloved Mahishasura-Mardini, the fact that a panel in the Sadasiva temple at Nuggehalli, in Hassan, shows the figure of Chamundeswari bestriding a mungoose, should possess no common interest. It is a pity that this exquisite temple, too, lacks consideration at the hands of the powers that be, and its wonders are allowed to go to ruin. In para twenty-nine, the author waives aside the current derivation of Yelandur (*ela*=young, *indu*=moon. *ur*=village), and gives the correct reading as Ilamarudur, or young Marudur in contradistinction to Big Marudur (styled now Maddur) lying about four miles from Yelandur. The lovers of iconography will feel interested in the find of two images, one of Narasimha at Agara near Yelandur, and the other of a Subrahmanya at Mamballi in the same *jaghir*. The first is said to represent five kinds of Narasimha, "a peculiarity not found elsewhere;" the Yoga-Nara-

simha is represented by the posture, Lakshmi-Narasimha by reason of a figure of her on its chest, Ugra-Narasimha because of a third eye on the forehead, Jvala-Narasimha by the flames playing about the ears, and Prablada-Narasimha because of the presence of this prince among *bhaktas* at the side. The second image that of Subramanya is seated on a peacock and possesses twelve hands and six heads, three to the front and three to the rear. It is in this village that the author set his eyes on a series of copper-plates, which were found to contain an inscription of one of the Punnad kings, Rashtravarman by name, who ruled a kingdom washed by the Kaveri and the Kapila. The kingdom is mentioned by Ptolemy as Gaunnata in the south of Mysore. Among the records brought to light by the resurvey of Yelandur, are many epigraphs in Tamil of five of the Hoysala sovereigns, and some, of the Ummattur chiefs, two of them Ganga-Raja-Odeyar and Ankusa-Raya-Odeyar being fresh discoveries. The world is brought to believe in the fierce intolerance of Tippu, the Tiger of Mysore. How to reconcile this with the fact reported by our author, that ritual vessels bearing his name are to be found to this day in two Brahmin shrines, one that of Lakshmi-Kanta being situated at Kalale near Nanjangud, and the other, that of Cheluvarayana, at the famous Melkote? A Sati shrine dedicated to a lady, who immolated herself on the funeral pyre when she heard her husband was felled by his foes, is said to stand near Lakshmi-Kanta's temple at Kalale, and a sandal-wood door in it with a panel carved with the figures of the husband and wife kissing each other, has, it is said, already suffered much by exposure, and Mr. Narasimhaiah suggests that it ought to be removed at once and preserved in the museum. We sincerely trust that the suggestion will be given effect to by our government at an early date.

The survey of portions of Kolar district is replete with Puranic and epigraphic interest. At Kaiyara near Chintamani, believed by the people to have been the ancient Ekchakrapura of the *Mahabharata*, a cave is pointed out into which Bhima is said to have thrown the carcass of Bakasura and to have closed the entrance with a large boulder. On certain occasions water of a white or red colour is said to issue from the cave, and this is regarded by the people as being either Baka's pus or blood! Leaving this myth as being more fitted to engage the interest of writers like Sir J. J. Frazer, we have to consider what is the significance of the five temples, at Kaiyara, dedicated to the five Pandu brothers. The author styles them "Dravidian," but taking into note that the term is a wide one embracing all known styles of south Indian architecture, we would like to know whether these five shrines have anything in common with the five famous *raths* at Mahabalipuram set up by the Pallava Narasimha-Varman in or about the ninth century A.D.

But it is time we close this review, or rather recital of contents. It is impossible for any one who takes up Mr. Narasimhaiah's fascinating annual reports to lay them down without being impressed by the patience, the minuteness and the consciousness of duty imprinted on every line of them. The epigraphical, numismatic and the miscellaneous sections of the present report are full of historical and antiquarian interest, and we must refer their perusal to the readers themselves.

K. R.

The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse

THIS is a well bound octavo volume running to six hundred and fifty pages and printed at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The verses have been chosen by Messrs. D. H. S. Nicholson, and A. H. E. Lee. There are about three hundred selections from over a hundred and fifty authors. The selections range from the thirteenth century up to the present time. In the volume Browning has eighteen pages, Wordsworth sixteen, Whitman twelve, and Tennyson and Swinburne eight pages. One finds that even Pope is included among mystics by reason of his well known lines.

All are but parts of one stupendous whole, whose body nature is, and God the soul, etc. Indian readers will be glad to know that three pieces of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu are included, of which the best known is "The Soul's Prayer." It is not understood, however, why the authors have left out the great mystic Tagore from their list.

The plan of selection is thus explained: "We have been governed by a desire to include only such poems and extracts from poems as contain intimation of a consciousness, wider and deeper than the normal." When a second edition is published, the authors might, perhaps, omit pieces that do not read as good poetry, as well as those that exhibit intellectual speculation in a greater degree than intuition. An unmistakeable quality of genuine mystic poetry of the higher kind is that it moves one to 'tears and laughter and effort.' My meaning will be apparent by quoting side by side some exquisite lines of Mrs. Browning, and some lines of Housman, which are both included in the text:

" God keeps His holy mysteries,
Just on the outside of man's dream,
In diapason slow, we think,
● To hear their pinions rise and sink,
While they float pure beneath His eyes,
Like swans adown a stream."

" God who made man out of dust,
Willed him to be
Not to know ends, but to trust
His decree."

The book shows unmistakeably that English poetry has risen to great mystic heights; and it is worthy of being studied by university students and by men of the world.

I shall conclude this brief review with four lines of genuine mystical poetry; the author was one who, in his normal consciousness, could not have composed them; the lines referred to his approaching untimely death:

" I came to seek my love,
My lover has found me,
My morning dream-clouds are chased
By the blue of eternity."

K. C.

"Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism"

BY A. K. COOMARASWAMI, ESQ., D. SC. (LONDON)

DURING the historical period of Indian philosophical thought, no religious teacher more inspiring and courageous, no social reformer more in touch with the needs of national life, no humanitarian more overflowing with love, and no moral philosopher with more practical ends in view, has appeared than Lord Buddha. At a time like ours when people have broken away from their religious and spiritual moorings, and desperate attempts are being made to level down the entire Hindu society to one monotonous uniformity, and when materialistic ideals have tended to quench the fire of *Dharma*, the publication of *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, a scholarly work by Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswami, D. Sc., Fellow of the University of London, and one of the greatest exponents of Indian art and culture, is most opportune. The author's keen and sympathetic insight, and masterly presentation of the facts of Buddha's life and teachings, are sure to make the scales fall from the eyes of many people, who labour under the impression that either Buddha was a root-and-branch destroyer of the Indian caste system, or that he was an impractical pessimist who just condemned desire and denied the soul.

The learned author living in the cool and temperate English atmosphere, far from the ignorant strifes rampant in this country, and unprejudiced by any party-feelings, shows himself a sincere admirer of the Brahmanic system of thought, and of the methods by which the Brahmins made strenuous endeavours to preserve and improve the high degree of culture and morality for which India has ever stood. By his high regard and reverence for their culture, caste system, and asceticism, he has proved himself a close follower of Buddha. It is to the credit of the author that his excessive admiration for his master has not darkened his mental eye to his faults. One point in his book that has been successfully driven home is that Buddha, instead of demolishing the Vedantic citadel, as has been generally assumed, took almost every brick in it as a model to construct his own with, and that he took a retrograde step in denying the soul or *atman*, upon which as the fundamental principle the Vedantins build. The author has made it clear that Buddha's doctrines are by no means antagonistic to the "*atmanic*" position of the Vedantins."

One chief determining factor of Buddhism has been the injunction that religious speculation should be avoided by all at any cost. Buddha, as an intensely practical man of the world, preached 'action,' and deprecated 'speculation' on the part of men. He wanted that men should lead peaceful lives by overcoming selfishness and passions that lead to misery, instead of wrangling on non-essentials like eschatology, transmigration, and so on, culminating in vituperation and slander. By a masterly stroke of genius, he cut the Gordian knot of religious strife by making speculation one of the deadly sins. With what success he achieved his end can be seen

from the fact that he had tremendous following during his life-time wherever he went, and even now, after nearly two thousand and five hundred years since Buddhistic doctrines first saw the light of day, the Buddhists are found to form the largest percentage of the world's population.

The basis of the Buddhistic ethics is the *nivritti marga* of the Vedantins. The Buddhist *sangha* was a monastic order in which each person, man or woman, had to spend some time, and it is held in such esteem that it forms an object of worship during every Buddhistic prayer. As the author says, "It is a positive social moral advantage that a certain number of its finest minds should remain unbound by social ties, be the onlookers seeing most of the game, and provide useful corrective to luxury without taking any part in it." Again, Buddha, while he denied a soul, laid great stress on character and right effort, maintaining that the life of the future individual is always determined by his character and action to-day, and that it is the character or the personality, as Buddha generalises, that is transmitted from one life to the next. What is this in effect but the law of *karma* of the Vedantins? The extreme catholicity and ethical nature of the Buddhist doctrines can be realised from the fact that the highest goal of the Buddhistic, i.e., *Nirvana*, is nothing but the complete conquest of desire and glamour, and that this can be attained by anyone 'whether one is in Greece or China or in Kosala'—a doctrine as simple as it is startling.

The view that Buddha criticised the caste system of India and broke it down is, according to our author, unhistorical. One of the ten commandments to be observed by each Buddhist is that, like the Indian *Grihasta*, every layman should minister to the wants of Bikkhus and the Brahmins, by word, affection and deed,—though it may be said here that Brahminhood was not always determined by birth. Another interesting feature of the Buddhistic religion is that it allows women to study religion under monks, enter the fold of *sangha*, and become nuns—a fact exceedingly interesting to all those who have the cause of women at heart.

Dr. Coomarasawmi considers the Mahayana school as Buddhism of an advanced type.

Regarding Vedanta, the author says that Buddha never met a foeman more worthy of his steel. His followers instead of attacking the Vedantin's soul simply beat the air, since they never understood the *Atmanist's* position. Instead of copying wholesale, Buddha took the Vedantic pattern, removed the soul out of it, and modified it into Buddhism. It was his idea that instead of a religion highly philosophical and intellectual, and as such restricted only to a few, he should spread a religion which was thoroughly practical and purely ethical, so that it might be freely intelligible to all. It was this democratizing tendency of the doctrines of Buddhism that is largely responsible for the success of it as a missionary religion. It is still a question whether Buddha believed in the existence of an *Atman* or not. The reader expects from the author an answer to it in the affirmative and eagerly looks

for it in the book, but does not find it. Probably it is to continue to be an unsolved problem of Buddhism for ever, as Buddha has abruptly cut off all further discussion with his pupils on that point.

With due deference to Dr. Coomaraswamy's scholarship and masterly exposition of the philosophical basis of Vedanta and Buddhism, we should here take leave to observe that his representation of Vedanta, as reducing the world to a mere nonentity, does not seem to be altogether tenable. Sankara in his commentary on 'Brahmasutra' (1.1.4), quotes with approval the Vedantic doctrine that, every human activity is *perfectly valid* till the moment of enlightenment and, except to the enlightened, the world is *burningly real*. Sankara's position seems to be that that reality, however, cannot be extended beyond the *waking* state with which the appearance of the world is inseparably bound up. The case of the self, on the contrary, is quite different; for its reality is unbroken and continuous through all the states of the soul. *Compared with the self* the empirical world, which is congenital and conterminous with a particular state, can never claim an equally independent reality; and, in the language of metaphysics, may even be explained away, as was done by Buddha and Sankara, as mere glamour. What else can it be?

C. K.

The Pallavas

BY MONS. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL, AND TRANSLATED FROM FRENCH

BY MR. V. S. SWAMINADHA DIKSHITAR

(Price Rs. 2. Sold by the Author at 6, Diwan Street, Pondicherry)

MONS. DUBREUIL'S work on the 'Pallavas' is an original contribution of the first magnitude to the history of this dynasty that we possess. He bids good-bye to the official orthodox style of research so far in vogue, and brings to bear upon the hitherto accepted conclusions of scholars his close study of the architectural monuments of the Pallavas and their age. He reads a new meaning into the inscriptions and explodes several theories that had been provided with the early Pallavas and their connection with the Ganga-Pallavas. The first chapter is devoted to ascertain the kind of art that flourished at the time of the first kings of the Pallava dynasty, and it contains a plate showing the Roman head of Buddha, discovered by himself near Bezwada. The chapter concludes that at Kanchipuram as well as at Amaravathi and Bezwada, the Pallava art, inspired by Roman models, attained great perfection at the time of those early Pallava kings. In the second chapter, the Vayalur inscription, which has thrown a flood of light on the early Pallava history, enables the author to complete the genealogy of the dynasty. The line of demarcation between the

Tamil and the Telugu countries at the period is fixed as the region, now comprised in the Nellore district. The architectural style of Undavalli, on the south bank of the Krishna, is next examined in the light of the opinions of Sir Walter Elliot, Messrs. Sewell and H. Krishna Sastry, and the result arrived at is that the Undavalli sculptures belong entirely, and even in the minutest details, to the style of Mahendravarman. The reader is referred to the volume before us for detailed analysis of this part of the subject. The learned professor also discredits the view generally held that the coins bearing the figures of a lion do not belong to the Pallavas but to Vishnukundins, a dynasty that reigned on the banks of the Godavari and the Krishna before its conquest by the Chalukyas. He also says that the caves of Undavalli are the work of these Vishnukundins. The history of this dynasty which ruled the Vengi country, with its capital at Lenduturu (Dendukuru) in the Ellore taluk, is next given. In chapter IV, the dynasty of Simhavishnu is described, and in chapter V, that of Nandivarman. The Ganga-Pallava theory is examined and exploded with the assistance of Mr. T. Gopinath Rao, in spite of the strong view expressed by the late Mr. V. Venkiah. It is not the object of this review to discuss this theory in all its bearings, however fascinating the attempt. The last chapter is an essay on the 'history of the dynasty of Nandivarman.'

The ravages of the war have affected antiquarian research, and Professor Dubréuil, being called away to military duty, is unable to continue his valuable labours in the cause of Indian history. It is to be hoped that, with the return of normal condition, the professor will come back and complete his grand work.

S. S.

Pallava Antiquities, Vol. II. Ibid

(Price .1s. 12.)

This Volume forms a sequel to the author's works on the 'Pallavas' and on 'Dravidian architecture': S. P. C. K. Press. The first volume, with thirty-two plates, appeared in 1916, and the present one was published in the beginning of the present year. The first chapter describes the dynasty of Nandivarman, and in the next, we are introduced into the temple of Virattanēsvara at Tiruttani. Plate I. represents view from the outside, and plate III. the view from the northern side. This temple, which is apsidal and a speciality of the *lingam*-cult, is the only existing specimen of a Pallava monument of the end of the ninth century and forms a type by itself. The rest is a detailed description of this interesting temple. The last part summarises the history of the south Indian art from the remotest times to the tenth century, and the Pallava art is described under four periods of style: (1) Mahendra's 610-640 A.D.; (2) Mamalla's 640-674; (3) Rajasimha's 674-800; and (4) Aparajita's 800-900 A.D. Here, again, the book had to be rushed through as the author was placed on military duty.

S. S.

Punjab Castes

BY SIR DENZIL IBBETSON, K.C.S.I.

Superintendent, Government Printing, Lahore. Punjab. Rs. 4

THIS is a reprint in book form of the chapter on "The Races, Castes and Tribes of the People" in the report on the 'Census of the Panjab' published in 1883 by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson, K.C.S.I. We welcome it with pleasure, because we know how highly it has been valued since its first publication thirty-five years ago. Sir Denzil was a keen student of ethnography and contributed several papers to the journal of the "Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." He was also a keen observer and a painstaking investigator. This report, when first published, attracted considerable attention, and since then copies of the report have been in great demand. But the demand could not be met, as the copies printed were soon exhausted, and copies of the *Punjab Ethnography*, in which this chapter and other parts of the report were re-printed, were also quickly out of stock. The need for re-publication has thus been a very real one. The chapter has been re-printed as it stands in the report, and ought to be in every good library. It ought to prove useful to every student of Indian castes and tribes, and to those interested in sociology in general.

C. H.

Archæological Survey of India Annual Report 1915-16

Part I

It is needless to say that the report is very interesting and instructive. Though the present war is seriously interfering with the progress of the work of conservation and repair of the monuments in British India, yet it is very gratifying to read that the native state of Hyderabad has undertaken to repair the famous cave temples of Ellora and Ajantha, and to open up minor ones like Ganesa Lena. The two most important pieces of excavatory work turned out during the year under review are: (a) the exploration by Dr. Marshall of the Buddhist monasteries buried near Taxila for over one thousand and five hundred years; and the discovery by Dr. Spooner in a monastery, near the site of the famous Buddhist University of Nalanda, of a large number of sculptured panels which are likely to be of immense use to a student of the history of design in India.

Regarding Dr. Spooner's theory regarding the Persian origin of the Mauryan empire, the learned Director-General has made it plain that, Dr. Spooner's views

are personal to himself and in no way represent the official views of the archaeological department.' He continues, "So far as monumental evidence from Pataliputra is concerned, it seems to me to confirm what has already been deduced from previous finds of the Maurya epoch, namely, that the art of that period was subject to strong Persian or Perso-Greek influence; and that a close intercourse must have existed in those days between India and Iran. But, for my own part, I see no reason to infer that these discoveries connote the religious, social, or political dependence of the former country on the latter,"—a view which we have already given before in the *Mythic Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. I, October 1917.

Regarding the epigraphical part of the report, many points of historical interest have been placed by Rao Bhadur H. Krishna Sastry at the disposal of the research students in Indian history. The most interesting piece of work has the decyphering of the Kudiyamalai inscription, which is a musical treatise of great value to a student of Indian music. "The seven sections corresponding to the seven classical *ragas*, into which the inscription is divided, the grouping together of musical notes in fours, the use of dots over letters, apparently for making notations, and the arrangements of sub-sections, according to the position of the ending note in the Hindu gamut, make the discovery of the Kudiyamalai, indeed, a valuable one. It would be the only treatise of the kind on noted music prior to Sarangadeva's *Sangitharathnakara*. It is noteworthy that the composition of this musical treatise was that of a king, pupil of a certain Rudracharya.

Before concluding, we wish to make mention of two more interesting things in the report. Firstly, the late Dr. Fleet has identified the Edecore country in the Yewur inscriptions with the present Raichur district in the Nizam's dominions, instead of the Yedatore taluka in the Mysore district as was done till now. Secondly, a Chola inscription, at Tirumakkudal, in the Chinglepet district, mentions the grant to the temple of Maha Vishnu providing for a school, in which *Vedas*, *Sastras*, grammar, *Ruparathara*, etc., were studied, a hostel for students and a hospital for sick people. The details supplied about the hospital, such as the appointment of a doctor, a surgeon, nurses, servants, and the storing of medicines, (of which eighteen are mentioned) so as to last for a year are worthy of notice. Even the water that was supplied to the sick people was obtained from a special source, and was scented with cardamom and *khas-khas* roots. We hope that the trustees of many of our Indian temples will come to know this early.

C. K.

To,

THE EDITOR,

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

SIR,

I have read with much interest the paper on 'Dravidian Affinities,' by Mr. Richards which appeared in pp. 243-284 of the last (VII) volume of this journal.

In this paper, the writer has made (on pp. 268-269) some remarks to the effect *that the culture of the Aryas of the Rig Veda is in no way connected with the Brahmanic culture* which we have come to regard as typical of India, and that 'Hinduism, whatever its origin, owes very little to the Aryas.

These statements seem to me to be too sweeping and to require correction.

It is, I believe, undisputed that modern Hinduism is chiefly based on the Puranas and Dharmaśāstras, and that these books are a natural development of the Brahmanas and later Samhitas. Mr. Richards, therefore, tries to prove his case by postulating a large chronological gap between the Rig Veda, Samhita and the other Samhitas and Brahmanas. In support of such a postulate he presents his readers with an account of society as it existed in the time of the Rig Veda, based, as the author informs us in note 3, on p. 269, on Macdonell's *Sanskrit Literature*. According to this account the Aryas of the Rig Veda were primarily a pastoral people, who knew nothing of irrigation. They were settled in the Panjab and knew nothing of India outside the Panjab; they were not acquainted with iron or bronze, etc., etc. In short, "it would be hard to point a picture of society more 'un-Indian' " than that presented by the Rig Veda.

Even if we grant that the picture of society depicted in the Rig Veda is totally dissimilar to what is considered 'Indian' at the present time, and presents many contrasts to the picture of society as it is depicted in the Yajus-Samhitas, it does not follow that the differences in the latter are due to foreign, i.e., non-Aryan influence. As a matter of fact, however, the account given by Mr. Richards is in many respects inaccurate as can be seen by the table given below, where I give some of Mr. Richard's statements, and opposite to them extracts from the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* another book (published in 1912) of Professor Macdonell.

Op. Cit. II, p. 250.¹ There is much evidence in favour of placing the composition of *the bulk of the Rig Veda* (it lies mine A. V.) especially the books in which Sudas appears with Vasishtha and Visvāmitra, in the east the later *Madhya-desa*, a view supported by Pischel (*vedische studien*, 2, 218), Geldner (*ibid* 3, 152), Hopkins (*J. A. O. S.* XIX 18), and Macdonell (*Sanskrit Literature*, 145.)

Ibid p. 95. The Rig Veda recognizes two Bharata chiefs on the *Sarasvati*, *Apaya* and *Drishadvati*, that is, in the holy land of India, the *Madhyadesa*.

¹ P. 268. The Aryas of the Rig Veda were settled in the Panjab. They knew nothing of India outside the Panjab.

Ibid p. 431.² *Samudra* (literally 'gathering of waters') 'ocean' is a frequent word in the Rig Veda and later. It is of importance in so far as it indicates that the Vedic Indians knew the sea. . . . There are references to the treasures of the ocean, perhaps pearls or the gains of trade, and the story of *Bhugyu* seems to allude to marine navigation.

Ibid p. 288.³ *Varana* in two passages of the Rig Veda is taken by Roth as an adjective with *Mriga*, meaning 'wild beast.' But the sense intended must have been 'elephant,' the usual sense of *Varana* in classical literature.

Ibid p. 171. *Mriga Hastin*, the 'animal with a hand' is mentioned in two passages of the Rig Veda, in which Roth recognizes that the elephant is meant. . . . The elephant is also denoted in the Rig Veda by the descriptive term *Mriga Varana*. . . . Pischel's view that the catching of elephants by the use of tame female elephants is already alluded to in the Rig Veda seems very doubtful.

Ibid p. 250.⁴ Nor is it possible to maintain that *Brahman* in the Rig Veda merely means a poet or sage. It is admitted by Muir that in some passages it must mean a hereditary profession; in fact, there is not a single passage in which it occurs where the sense of 'priest' is not allowable, since the priest was, of course, the singer.

Ibid p. 80. *Brahmana*, 'descendant of a Brahman' (i.e., of a priest) is found only a few times in the Rig Veda and mostly in its latest parts. . . . It seems certain that in the Rig Veda this *Brahmana* or *Brahmin* is already a separate caste differing from the warrior and agricultural castes.

Ibid II, p. 584.⁵ *Ayas* (bronze, iron) I, p. 31, 32.

Ibid I, p. 31. *Ayas*, the exact metal denoted by this word when used by itself, as always in the Rig Veda, is uncertain. As favouring the sense of 'bronze' rather than of 'iron' may, perhaps, be cited with Zimmer the fact that *Agni* is called *ayo-damshttra* 'with teeth of *ayas*,' with reference to the colour of his flames and that the ear-seat of Mitra and Varuna is called *Ayah-sthuna*, 'with pillars of *ayas*' at the setting of the sun. . . . Possibly, too, the arrow of the Rig Veda, which had a tip of *ayas*, was pointed with iron. Copper, however, is conceivable, and bronze quite likely.

Ibid p. 39.⁶ *Arata*, a word occurring several times in the Rig Veda, denotes a well, artificially made in contrast with a spring. Such wells were covered by the makers and are described as unfailing and full of water. The water was raised by a wheel of stone, to which was fastened a strap with a pail attached to it. When raised, it was poured into buckets of wood. Sometimes, those wells appear to have

2 P. 268. The ocean was apparently unknown, except by hearsay.

3 P. 269. The elephant is never mentioned.

4 P. 269. There was no hereditary priesthood.

5 P. 269. Their weapons were presumably of copper, for there seems little doubt that *ayas* was not iron, and there is no evidence that the Aryas knew of bronze.

6 P. 268. They knew nothing of irrigation.

been used for irrigation purposes, the water being led off into broad channels. Compare Zimmer: *Altindisches Leben* 156, 157; Geldner, *Vedische Studien* 2, 14.

Ibid I, p. 99. S. V. Vorvara:—Intensive cultivation by means of irrigation is clearly referred to both in the *Rig Veda* and *Atharva Veda*, while allusion is also made to the use of manure.

These extracts show that Mr. Richards' statements reproduced above are wholly baseless. Similarly, the articles in the *Vedic Index* under Dasyu, Grama, Vis, Smaśru, etc., show that Mr. Richards' statements about the relations between Jana, Grama and Vis, about the Aryas of the Rig Veda having commonly worn beards, and about the Aryas reviling the Dasyus in terms that are intolerably vulgar are likewise inaccurate. In fact, it would be no exaggeration to say that Mr. Richards' account of society, as it existed in the Rig Veda, is wholly inaccurate and opposed to the latest opinions of Rig Veda scholars on that point.

The keynote of Mr. Richards' above account is the belief that the Rig Veda is un-Indian, that is, that the picture of society presented to us by the Rig Veda has, so to say, nothing in it that is characteristically Indian. This opinion is not new, but was the prevalent one in about 1870, when it was even thought that the Rig Veda was the first book written in the world. Thus, for example, Gachet wrote, in 1870 (*Oeuvres de Koutsu et de Hiranyastoupa*, preface, p. XXVIII) that 'nulle oeuvre écrite ne reporte le savant plus pres de l'origine meme du langage.' Max Muller in his *Essays* 1, 2, wrote that 'so far we are Aryans in speech, that is, in the realm of thought, to that extent is the Rig Veda our own oldest book.' Similarly, Whitney wrote (*Language and Its Study*) that 'the Vedas seem to be Indo-European rather than Indian books; they are, in actuality, the more common inheritance of the whole race than the property of a single family.' Similar opinions were held by Roth, Kaegi, (*Der Rig Veda*, p. 36); Brunnhofer (*über den Geist der indischen Lyrik*, p. 3, 6); and Zimmer (*Altindisches Leben*, p. vii).

It was first shown by Professors Pischel and Geldner in the introduction to Vol. I of their *Vedische Studien*, that the above opinion was quite untenable. In pp. XXI-XXX of this introduction, they have advanced many cogent arguments for believing that the Rig Veda is essentially Indian in character. As, obviously, it is not possible for me to reproduce here all their arguments and conclusions, I shall give here two extracts from their introduction:

P. XXII.—'Our investigations have, at the least, led us to the *opinion* that between the culture of the Rig Veda and that of the later literature, say, for instance, the *Mahabharata*, there is no large gap.'

P. XXX.—'The Rig Veda is an Indian monument and must be understood and explained as such. . . . One should interpret nothing into the Rig Veda that is not Indian. . . . We must naturally take into account that the change of time has altered and transformed much. The Rig Veda itself is a good instance of Indian development. We find there old poets by the

side of later ones, who go to work taking for model the famous works of their forefathers; we see there how old *gods recede into the background and give place to new ones*. But, however, many religious systems might have succeeded there one after another, and, however, the life of the Indian people might have been transformed under the changing climate, the people of India, in thought and in outlook, have remained, so long as we find them in history, what they were, namely, Indian; and it is the Indian spirit that we meet no less in the hymns of the Vasishthas and Visvamitras than in Bana's *Kudambari*.'

The extracts given above show, -I trust, sufficiently clearly that the Rig Veda is essentially Indian in character. Mr. Richards must, therefore, abandon the Rig Veda, and go in search of other facts to support his theory of Dravidian-Mediterranean affinities.

A. V.

A Reply to the Above

Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah's criticisms, on pages 268-69, of my paper on *Dravidian Affinities*, printed in Vol. VII of the Society's Journal, have, by the courtesy of the President, been referred to me for remarks.

I. I shall first deal with certain statements reproduced by me from Professor A. A. Macdonell's *Sanskrit Literature*, which Mr. Venkatasubbiah attempts to discredit on Professor Macdonell's own authority by quoting his *Vedic Index*.

(1) Professor Macdonell locates the Rig-Vedic Aryans in the Punjab (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 139-141). Mr. Venkatasubbiah quotes the *Vedic Index* to show that the Rig-Vedic Aryans lived on the rivers Sarasvati, Apaya and Drishadvati. As these rivers are in the Punjab, I fail to see the point of Mr. Venkatasubbiah's criticism.

(2) On page 143 of *Sanskrit Literature*, Professor Macdonell states that "the ocean was probably known only from hearsay," and that *Samudra* seems "to mean in the Rig Veda only the lower course of the Indus." Mr. Venkatasubbiah conveniently emasculates the passage he quotes, which, citing Zimmer, points out "that the ebb and flow of the sea are unknown, that the mouths of the Indus are never mentioned, that fish is not a known diet in the Rig Veda, and that in many places *samudra* is metaphorically used." In the whole passage there is not a word of *evidence* that the Rig-Vedic Aryans knew the ocean, and such knowledge would be *wholly incompatible* with the geographic data of the Rig Veda itself. I would remind Mr. Venkatasubbiah that *conjecture is not evidence*. Nothing in the passage quoted impugns the Professor's earlier statement.

(3) The Aryans had no word for elephant. In neither of the passages quoted from the Vedic index, do I see any reason given for identifying the "wild beast," or the "animal with a hand," with the elephant. In the first quotation "must have been" awakens doubt, but does not carry conviction. The second quotation

Mr. Venkatasubbiah again emasculates, for Roth not only "recognises that the elephant is meant," but also "concludes that the compound name is a *proof of the newness of the elephant to the Vedic Indians.*" Thus, even if the "animal with a hand" is rightly identified with the elephant, its novelty would tell decisively against an "Aryan" origin for the cult of the elephant god, Vignesvara.

(4) On page 160 of his *Sanskrit Literature*, Professor Macdonell says, "during the period represented by Sudas and Vasistha, in which the older portion of the Rig Veda was composed, the priesthood was not yet hereditary." I find no evidence in Mr. Venkatasubbiah's quotations to controvert this. Muir's "must mean" is an assumption, and "seems certain" is a conjecture: neither assumption nor conjecture is evidence. Whether "Brahman" means "priest" or "poet" is beside the point.

(5) Again, there is no evidence that *ayas* in the Rig Veda means iron, or that the Aryas knew of bronze. I quite agree that "copper is conceivable and bronze quite likely," but if *ayas* was of the colour of *Igii's* flames, it obviously could not be iron, and, as the use of copper preceded that of iron, it is clearly impossible that the meaning of the word could have been transferred *from iron to copper*.

(6) The use of a well and bucket is not evidence of irrigation. Irrigation in India is a matter of tanks and dams. "Appears to have been" is not proof. As for the second quotation, only one reference (VII, 49.2) is cited for the whole Rig Veda, and this is obscure. In India, irrigation and rice go together, and the Rig-Vedic Aryas *knew nothing of rice*. I have gone carefully through the articles in the Vedic Index on *Dasyu*, *Grana*, *Vis*, *Snasru*, and find nothing subversive of Professor Macdonell's account (*Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 158-164). As for the terms in which the Aryas described the indigenous peoples, not even the *Madras Mail* would refer to Indians as "noseless," "black-skinned" "devils." (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 152 and *Vedic Index* I, p. 347.)

In short, Mr. Venkatasubbiah's attack on Professor Macdonell's account of the culture of the Rig-Vedic Aryas, as set forth in *Sanskrit Literature*, fails completely, and as he has nothing to urge against the rest of the material embodied in the two pages to which his criticisms are confined, I cannot admit that my account is "wholly inaccurate."

II. To pass on to Mr. Venkatasubbiah's other criticisms, he credits me with saying that the culture of the Aryas of the Rig Veda is *in no way* connected with Brahmanic culture, and that there is *nothing* in the Rig Veda which is characteristically Indian. I have made no such statement, and hold no such views.

Mr. Venkatasubbiah appears to think that modern Hinduism is a "natural development" of the Rig Veda. But he makes no attempt to trace in the Rig Veda the origin of such crucial characteristics of Brahmanic Hinduism as: (1) infant marriage, (2) perpetual widowhood, (3) *sati*, (4) transmigration, (5) pilgrimage, (6) vegetarianism, (7) Vignesvara worship, (8) Subrahmanya worship, (9) the cult of Hanuman, (10) the cults of the mother goddesses, (11) the *avatars* of Vishnu,

etc., etc.; the list could be multiplied indefinitely. To call such cultural phenomena a "natural development" of the Rig Veda is too fantastic a thesis for serious discussion. Mr. Venkatasubbiah must look to sources other than the Rig Veda if he desires to trace the origin of these cultural facts.

I do not quite follow Mr. Venkatasubbiah's objection to the "postulate" of a "chronological gap" between the Rig Veda and the so-called "Later Vedas" and the Brahmanas. Surely, he does not regard them all as synchronous. He quotes no authority and cites no evidence for their contemporaneity, and so far as I am aware, he is the first scholar to advance such a theory.

It is rather startling to learn from Mr. Venkatasubbiah that non-Aryan influence is "foreign" to India. I thought opinion ran all the other way, *viz.*, that the Dasyus were indigenous, the Aryas immigrant. At least that is how my Brahman friends explain to me their origin: it is the Brahmins who are of foreign extraction, the Sudras are descendants of the indigenous peoples. Whether or no, the Dravidians are, as I have conjectured, a branch of the Mediterranean race, they were certainly indigenous when the Aryas entered India. I am in doubt therefore as to what Mr. Venkatasubbiah had in mind when he describes "non-Aryan" influence as "foreign." I fear Mr. Venkatasubbiah is misled by my use of the word "un-Indian." I have no quarrel with the thesis that the Rig-Vedic hymns were composed in India. My contention is that a large number of the cultural features, most characteristic of Brahmanic Hinduism, are characteristic also of the Mediterranean culture, but cannot be traced in the Rig Veda.¹ So also in the India of to-day are found law courts and legislative councils, newspapers and railways, factories, laboratories and hospitals of types characteristic of an alien "un-Indian" civilization, modified, more or less faintly, by Indian conditions.

I must thank Mr. Venkatasubbiah for his kindly criticism. He has drawn my attention to much new matter and placed many facts in a new light. I fear, however, that, so far from convincing me of the error of my imaginings, he has strengthened substantially my heretical bias. I would remind him, however, that I have not based my Mediterranean hypothesis on the record of the Rig Veda, and for the facts which support it, I would refer him to the rest of my paper, which apparently he has not read.

F. J. R.

¹ Citations from the Tenth Book of the Rig Veda, of course, count for nothing, as the Tenth Book is admitted on all sides to be of distinctly later age.

Principal Contents of Some of Our Exchanges

The Indian Antiquary, (August 1917). Sir Aurel Stein continues his narrative of "A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913-16;" and Mr. V. Rangacharya does the same with his closely-studied "History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura."

The Ceyon Antiquary, (January 1918).

Place-Names in Jaffna ending in *Pag*. By S. W. Coomaraswamy.

Ceylon According to Du Jarrie. By the Rev. E. Gaspard, S.J.

"Sissiyana Sissia Paramparawa," and other Laws relating to Buddhist Priests in Ceylon. By G. W. Woodhouse, M.A., LL.M., C.C.S.

An Old Tamil Poem on a Christian Shrine. By the Rev. S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I.

A Superstition concerning the Lotus. By Botanicus.

Duttugemunu's Queen. By H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (Retd.), and others.

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (October 1917).

The Most Ancient Goddess Cybele. By F. Legge.

Akbar's House of Worship, or Ibadat-Khana. By V. A. Smith.

The Semitic Inscriptions of the Harding Smith Collection. By Theophilus G. Pinches.

The Dragon of Tagaung. By R. Grant Brown.

Yasna XLIII, 7-16, in its Sanskrit Forms. By Professor Mills.

Prices and Wages under Akbar. By W. H. Moreland.

As to the Date of the *Periplus*. By Wilfred H. Schoff.

Mixture of *Prakrit* in Sanskrit Plays. By G. A. Grierson.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series, Vol. XIII, 1917, Nos. 4 and 5).

The Antiquities of Burdwan. By Maulavi Abdul Wali.

Bardic and Historic Survey of Rajputana. By Dr. L. P. Tessitori.

Notes on the Geology of the Nilgherry and Palney Highland Plateaus. By P. F. Fyson, B.A., F.L.S.

The Dramas of Bhasa: A Literary Study. By A. M. Meerwarth.

The Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society, 1917.

The Second Capture of Hyderabad by the Moghuls, and the Commencement of the Siege of Golconda. By Prof. Jodunath Sarkar, M.A., P.R.S.

Garla and Its Remains. By T. Srinivas.

The Megalithic Remains of the Deccan: A New Aspect of Them. By G. Yazdani.

(Mr. Yazdani's discovery, at Raigir in Nalgonda district, in a number of cairns, pottery, written profusely in unknown characters, and the diagram in which some of these marks are reproduced, are of the utmost importance.)

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, (December 1917).

Hatti-Gumpha Inscription of Emperor Khara-vela (173 B.C.-160 B.C.).

K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., (Oxon).

The Tezpur Rock Inscription. Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri, M.A.,
C.I.E.

An Account of the Maithil Marriage. The Maharaja of Dharbhanga.

The Date of Umapati. Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D. Litt., I.C.S.

Nepal, Tirhut and Tibet. Vincent A. Smith, M.A., I.C.S.

A Note on Totemism amongst the Asurs. Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.

The Mythic Society

R U L E S

1. The Society shall be called the Mythic Society.

2. The objects of the Mythic Society shall be—

(a) To promote the study of the sciences of archæology, ethnology, history, religions and allied subjects, more particularly in Mysore and South India.

(b) To stimulate research in the above subjects.

3. The entire management of the Society shall vest in a Committee consisting of a President, Vice-President, a General Secretary, an Editor, an Honorary Treasurer, a Librarian, Branch Secretaries, and seven other members, who shall hold office for one year, but shall be eligible for re-election.

4. Membership shall be of two kinds—

(a) Honorary. (b) Ordinary.

5. Honorary membership shall be restricted to persons, who in the opinion of the Committee have rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. Honorary members shall be nominated by the Committee, and from the date of their election they shall be entitled, without payment, to all the privileges of ordinary members.

6. Ordinary membership shall be open to all gentlemen and ladies who may be elected by the Committee.

7. The subscription for ordinary membership shall be—

(a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.

(b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions shall be payable on election, or annually, on July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of our Journal is issued, by sending the second number by V. P. P.

Membership shall be open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bonâ-fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

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8. The activities of the Society shall be as follows :—

- (a) There shall be as far as possible nine ordinary meetings in each session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretary to resident members only. Each session shall be reckoned from 1st July to 30th June.
- (b) Members shall be entitled to bring their friends to the meetings. The President shall have the power of vetoing admission in any special case.
- (c) The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in the Quarterly Journal to be issued as far as possible on 1st October, 1st January, 1st April, and 1st July, which will be sent free to all members, and which will be on sale at Rs. 1-4 per copy to non-members. Members joining in the course of a session shall be entitled to all the numbers issued during that session, but their subscriptions will be due as from the previous July, and they will be expected to pay for the whole year. No resignation from membership will be accepted except between 1st July and 1st October.
- (d) Lecturers are expected not to allow any Paper or Review to publish their lectures *in extenso* before they have appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.
- (e) The Society shall encourage a spirit of research among University students by awarding a medal annually to the best essay on a subject determined upon by the Committee.

9. A Library and Reading-Room will be maintained by the Society.

10. The Reading-Room will be opened to members and registered readers on days and at times decided on by the Committee, and duly notified to those concerned.

(iii)

11. Books will not be lent outside the premises to any one except with the written sanction of the President, the clerk taking requisition and obtaining order in each case.

12. The Annual General Meeting will be held as far as possible in July, when the reports and accounts for the previous session shall be submitted to the members, and new office-bearers shall be elected.

13. The framing and the alteration of the Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

14. The habitation, offices, and library of the Society are situated in 'Daly Memorial Hall,' Cenotaph Road, Bangalore City.

15. The Trustees for the 'Daly Memorial Hall' are the following office-bearers for the time being:

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KALIDASA : THE GREAT INDIAN POET

BY RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA DEWAN BAHADUR J. S. CHAKRAVARTI, ESQ.

M.A., F.R.A.S.

[The Friends' Union of Bangalore celebrated the Kalidasa Day on Saturday, the 16th February 1918, in the hall of the Government High School. The programme was full and interesting, and the proceedings lasted for nearly three hours, great enthusiasm prevailing throughout. Sir M. Visweswaraya, the Dewan of Mysore, and the Rev. A. M. Tabard, President of the Mythic Society, were present to the close, as also most of the leading gentlemen of the City. Rajamantrapravina Dewan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., F.R.A.S., presided on the occasion and delivered an address, which, by his kind courtesy is reproduced *in extenso* in our pages. Thinly masked though it is by postprandial geniality and

lightness of touch, our readers will recognise in it the results of a very close intimacy with the innumerable theories that scholars of repute have set afloat around the personality of the immortal poet.—*Editor.*]

IN offering these observations, I feel myself somewhat in the position of the famous cloud messenger of the illustrious poet. In the first place, it was only two or three days ago, that I flew along the whole length of the Indian continent, from the Himalayas to the Malaya regions, passing on my way mighty rivers and lofty mountain ranges, great cities and beautiful lakes. In the second place, as you all know, the cloud messenger was utterly unfit for the task imposed on him. The poet himself has said this:

धूमज्योतिः सलिलनल्लतां सन्निपातः कमेधः

सिद्धेशायाः कषट्ठकरणः प्राणिभिः प्रापनायाः ॥

“Where is the cloud,” says the poet, “composed of smoke, light, water and air, and where is the task imposed upon it, namely, that of carrying a love message?” Similarly, if you consider my daily occupation, you will find that it is as dry and prosaic and uninteresting as the material constituents of the cloud, and nevertheless you have entrusted to a man of such prosaic vocation the task of presiding at the Kalidasa Day celebration. But just as the forlorn lover, mad with passion, cannot distinguish a fit agent from an unfit one, so I think the President or the Secretary of a Union, burning with a desire to celebrate an anniversary, pounces upon the first man he meets, without much consideration of propriety or fitness.

Turning now to the various papers that have been read before us, the first one is that of Praktana-Vimarsa-Vichakshana, Rao Bahadur Mr. R. Narasimhachar, in which he has tried to give us such information as he could collect from the vast store of his historical and archæological learning regarding the date and place of the famous poet. I must confess that when this programme was placed in my hands two or three days ago, and I saw that a paper containing a *biographical sketch* of Kalidasa was to be read, I was simply astounded, for not even the date nor the place of birth or residence of the poet, as far as I know, have been definitely ascertained up to this time, in spite of the strenuous labours of numerous eminent scholars devoted to the solution of these interesting questions. There are seven or eight different theories about the date of the poet, and amongst them, three at least are very influentially and powerfully supported. Mr. Narasimhachar has referred to them in his learned paper, and I need not take up your time by recapitulating them in detail. Some hold that the poet belonged to the first century B.C. But this theory is apparently not favoured by Mr. Narasimhachar, as he says that history and archæology know of no Vikramaditya who flourished about that time, and so Kalidasa could not have been a gem in the court of the

Vikramaditya of the first century B.C., who is popularly believed to have started his own era. The second influentially supported theory is the one which places Kalidasa in the fourth century A.D., as belonging to the court of Samudragupta Vikramaditya, who ruled over a tract of country from Allahabad eastwards extending over Behar and Bengal. This theory now finds favour with a school of Bengali historians, who hold that Kalidasa was a Bengali by birth, and locate his birthplace near Brahmanipura in the district of Nadia. The third theory on which Mr. Narasimhachar lays stress, and which apparently finds the greatest favour at his hands, is the one which places Kalidasa in the sixth century A.D. About this time, there was a powerful king with the title of Vikramaditya ruling at Ujjain, and Kalidasa is said to have been the brightest gem of his collection of nine gems. Some of the scholars supporting this theory hold that Kalidasa's real name was Matrigupta, and that after his patron, king Vikramaditya conquered Cashmere, he left Matrigupta or Kalidasa as the governor of the conquered province. This theory, according to which Kalidasa would be an officer occupying a high position in the service of his king, would in some measure correspond to the theory regarding Shakespeare, according to which the dramas of that illustrious English poet were composed by Sir Francis Bacon. Some people associate Kalidasa with Bhojaraja Vikramaditya of Dhar, and there are some traditions also which connect Kalidasa with the localities round about the capital city of that State. Many of you must have heard the verse, in which Kalidasa is said to have expressed his grief on hearing the news of Bhojaraja's death :

अवधारा निगधारा निगलम्बा मरम्बता ।

पण्डिताः खण्डिताः सर्वे भावरात्रि दिवंगते ॥

But as there are reasons to believe that Bhojaraja of Dhar flourished about the ninth century A.D., and as it is certain that Kalidasa could not have existed at so late a period, this theory can be summarily rejected.

This brings me to the question of the birthplace of Kalidasa. It may be safely said that no definite conclusion has been arrived at by scholars up to this time on this point. It seems indisputable, however, that he must have spent some years of his life, perhaps the best part, at Ujjain; the internal evidence of Meghasandesa is very strong on this point. The poet devotes a great deal of attention to the description of Ujjain and the places near it in this poem. He describes them with such solicitude and attachment that the conclusion comes irresistibly to the mind of the reader that he was intimately connected with the place. I have already referred to the fact that the theory connecting Kalidasa with Dhar does not stand the test of historical research, and the beautiful stories connecting him with this principality must be as-

cribed to the imagination of some patriotic and poetic citizen of Dhar.

Next, there is the theory which claims Bengal as the birthplace of Kalidasa. Some Bengali historians have devoted and are still devoting a considerable amount of attention to this theory. They claim that the name Kalidasa itself is a very strong evidence in favour of the Bengal theory: for the name Kalidasa is very common in Bengal, but it is rare and almost unknown in most other parts of India. I have at least three or four relations of the name of Kalidasa, but I do not know of any single friend after nine years' residence in southern India of the name of Kalidasa Iyer, or Kalidasa Iyengar or Kalidasa Mudalliar or Chetti. The next evidence that is cited in favour of the Bengal theory is the passage in the *Jyotirbidābharana*—an astronomical work popularly ascribed to Kalidasa—in which the author says that after having written his poetical works in other places, he wrote this treatise in the court of Ujjain. From this it is inferred that Kalidasa migrated to Ujjain from some other place and it is claimed that that place was Bengal. Another argument that is urged in favour of his Bengal origin is the style of his writing. It is, I think, undeniable that Kalidasa's Sanskrit approaches the Bengali language more nearly than it does any other Indian vernacular.

Mithila has also been regarded by some as the birthplace of Kalidasa, and there are spots in Mithila, *e.g.*, the old villages of Durgasthana and Uchait, which are pointed out as connected with the life incidents of the poet.

Even Sinhala or distant Ceylon does not lag behind in claiming some sort of connection with Kalidasa. It may interest you, gentlemen, to know that, according to a certain tradition, Kalidasa is regarded as having died in Anurudhapura in Ceylon, about the year 512 A.D., during the reign of king Kumaradasa. A beautiful spot surrounded by cocoanut groves, and beautiful creepers full of fragrant flowers throughout the year, is pointed out as the place where the poet was cremated after his death, and it is also said that king Kumaradasa, overpowered by grief at the irreparable loss, fell into the funeral pyre of the poet, with his five queens and perished. This place, held sacred to the memory of Kalidasa in Ceylon even up to this date, has been visited by several men from the Mysore State, one of the most eminent amongst whom, I am glad to say, is present here to-night.

From what I have said, and what has been said by Mr. Narasimhachar in the learned paper contributed by him, you will see that it is not definitely known as yet in what part of India the famous poet was born. Nor do we know for certain where he lived and wrote his immortal works. Naturally in the absence of definite information, various parts of India lay claim to the honour and distinction. For my part, I shall be immensely pleased if it can be definitely proved from original and authentic sources that the poet was

born in Bengal, the land of Jayadeva and Chandidaś. of Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Madhusūdan Dutt, of Girish Chandra Ghosh and Rabindranath Tagore.

The paper on the "Formative Influences of Kalidasa," which has been read by Mr. Krishnasastri, is a learned appreciation of that particular aspect of the writings. Mr. Krishnasastri has said that Kalidasa has borrowed his plots from other sources, and has tried to defend this action of the poet and shew that that does not detract from his merit or originality. I may mention in this connection that, according to the rules of Sanskrit authorship, a poet is in many cases bound to select his themes from the *Itihasas* or *Puranas*. A brand-new plot like that of a modern detective novel, entirely the product of the poet's imagination, is not admitted. Thus for Mahākavyas it is laid down :

इतिहासादभवं वृत्तं अन्यद्वासज्जनाश्रयं ।

that is, the plot must be taken from *Itihasas* (like the *Ramayana* or the *Mahabharata*), or must appertain to the life of a great and good man. So it is only to be expected that Kalidasa's plots should be drawn from older sources. But as Mr. Krishnasastri has said, Kalidasa has breathed new life and vigour, new beauty and charm into the old themes.

I also quite agree with Mr. Krishnasastri when he says that Kalidasa could not have been an ignorant rustic without knowledge and culture, suddenly endowed with high poetical powers by mysterious and supernatural means. It is easy to see from every page of Kalidasa's writings that he was a great master of the various sciences and arts of Sanskrit learning. For example, the fourth canto of *Raghuramsa* and the first half of *Meghasandesa* clearly shew that he was a great geographical scholar. Not only was he acquainted with the various countries, mountains, rivers and cities of the then-known world, but he had also a very thorough and minute knowledge of the manners, customs and peculiar traits of the people of all countries. His knowledge of history is clear from such descriptions as that of the Swayamvara of Indumati, in the sixth canto of *Raghuramsa*. There the guide Śunandā takes Indumati in turn before every one of the important princes of India assembled on the great occasion and gives her an account of the heroic deeds and exploits of the kings of the line to which the prince belongs. That he had a clear knowledge of *Jyotisha* is shewn by the passage in which he describes the position of the several planets at the time of Rāghu's birth and also by that in which he gives the accurate astrological methods by which the king of the Himalayas fixed the date of Uma's marriage. Indeed, some scholars have urged that the word *yamitrā* used by Kalidasa in this connection shews a direct or indirect knowledge of the Greek system of astro-

nomy. Kalidasa's knowledge of philosophy is shown in the verses in which the Devas pray to Brahma in the second canto of *Kumarasambhara*. His practical knowledge of *Rajayoga* is reflected in the sublime and transcendental verses in which he describes in *Kumarasambhara* the yoga of Lord Eswara himself. No one who has not a practical experience of the blissful state could have written a verse like the following :

अवृष्टमरंभमिवांबुवाहम् अपामिवाधार मनुत्तरङ्गम् ॥

अन्तश्चराणां गन्तां निरोधान् निवात निष्कम्प मिवप्रदोषम् ॥

His knowledge of *Asanam* and the other processes of *Hathayoga* is abundantly manifested in the description of the severe austerities of Parvati.

One point in connection with Kalidasa's knowledge of the various sciences and arts is that he does not make a pedantic display of the knowledge in his writings. In fact, in many cases such knowledge is very carefully hidden and can be discovered only by a master of the respective sciences. For example, take this verse :

दिशताःशृण्वपद्मणिताडिताधराः पयोधरोत्प्रेषनिपात चूर्णिताः ॥

वल्लीषुतस्याः स्रवस्त्रिताः प्रपेदिरे चिरेणनाभि प्रथमोदविन्दवः ॥

This is a verse in which the poet describes the course of rain-drops over Uma's body, when after the scorching hot months the showers came and fell on her during her memorable *tapas*. He describes how, first of all, the drops stood for a time on the eye-lashes of Parvati, how they then fell on her bust : how, thereafter, gliding slowly through the folds of the waist, they sank into the navel after a long time. Apparently there is nothing in the verse shewing yogic knowledge or learning. I do not here refer either to the superb beauty or the delightfully fine imagery of the stanza. I do not refer to the clever significance of the words चूर्णिता and चिरेण. What I want to point out to you about this verse is that, apparently, it does not contain anything regarding *yoga*. But look at how Mallinatha comments on this verse, अमने वीरासनं सूचितं. That is, by this stanza it is made clear that Parvati was seated in the yogic posture known as *Virasanam*. On a careful study of the verse and of the rules about *Virasanam*, it may be said that no one who has not practised *Virasanam* himself would be able to describe so accurately the relative positions of the several parts of the body in this well known posture of *Hathayoga*.

It is abundantly clear from what I have said that Mr. Krishnasastri is quite right in maintaining that Kalidasa was not only a poet of the very first order but he was also a scholar and philosopher of the highest rank. The only subject, I think, in respect of which Kalidasa shews any weakness is grammar. Inaccuracies in grammar occur in several places in his works. Take, for instance, the passage :

क्षत्रात्किल लायन इत्युदग्रः क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनपुरुटः

Here, Kalidasa derives the word *Kshatra* from *Kshata*. But *Kshata* will not give *Kshatra* but *Kshatatra*. Similarly, in one place, he says तथैवमोऽद-
न्वर्धराजा प्रकृतिरभवात्. Here, he derives the word *rajan* from the root *ranja*. I do not know whether any of the scholars present here can derive the word *rajan* from *ranja*. I cannot do it. I mention these facts as a sort of encouragement to my young friends here, so that they may not get unduly depressed when they find themselves committing numerous grammatical errors in the course of Sanskrit composition. The inference is that, in spite of deficiencies in grammatical knowledge, it is possible to become a Kalidasa.

Mr. T. Lakshminarasimha Rao's paper on 'Sakuntala' is a piece of thoughtful and clear criticism. This drama is, indeed, one of the finest literary treasures of the human race. Mr. Lakshminarasimha Rao, however, with rare courage has levelled a serious criticism against the plot of this immortal work. He said, if I understood him aright, that he could not regard as satisfactory Dushyanta's neglect of his wife after regaining remembrance of his marriage with Sakuntala. Mr. Lakshminarasimha Rao is dissatisfied because the king does not go about moving heaven and earth to find his lost wife but pursues his daily occupations as usual, and he finds fault with the plot because it is only by accident and not through Dushyanta's own endeavours that his wife and child are ultimately restored to him. I quite agree with Mr. Lakshminarasimha Rao in his statement of facts. They are as stated by him. But I am afraid that I cannot agree with him as regards the conclusions which he draws from these facts. Far from regarding the circumstances and incidents referred to by him as a blemish on the plot, I consider them to be the master-strokes of the greatest of India's national poets. The incidents referred to by my learned friend illustrate and convey the most important lessons of Hindu civilisation and culture better than anything else. The duties imposed on man by God—the duties imposed by the *Shastras*, which are framed by God himself and by those who have seen God, viz., the Rishis—must be a man's first consideration in the path of life. A king has duties to perform to the country which he rules and to the subjects whom he governs. A king has no right to give himself up to the griefs and passions of his private love affairs and neglect his sacred and God-imposed duties to his country and his subjects. It is because Dushyanta was a real Hindu king, it is because Kalidasa wanted to portray Dushyanta as a prince true to the spirit of real Indian culture that he made him continue his duties to his subjects and country in the ordinary way, and did not make him give up his duties and go about in search of his wife mad and disconsolate like the hero of a twentieth-

century novel. And then about the accidental meeting. If we think deeply we will see that there is no accident in the real sense of the term in the affairs of the universe. What we call accidents are the results of definite laws and causes which we cannot or do not care to ascertain. The accident by which Dushyanta regained his beloved wife and child shews that, if we do our duty devotedly and whole-heartedly according to the laws of God, then God will reward us and give us what we want. It is the duty of a king to protect the virtuous against their oppressors. The Devas were troubled by Asuras, and it was the duty of Dushyanta to go and help the Devas in their battle against the Asuras. He performed this duty without regard to his private sorrow and grief, and in the course of performing such duty, he gained the desire of his heart.

Pandit Venkataramanaiya's paper on the 'Religion and Philosophy of Kalidasa' is the result of deep study and careful research, and if it has not been listened to by my young friends with such attention as it deserved, it is, perhaps, due to the dry nature of religion and philosophy rather than to any shortcoming of the writer in dealing with his subject. I quite agree with the author of the paper that Kalidasa was a most liberal-minded man, who read all systems of philosophy and who was acquainted with the tenets of all religious creeds. He had no bigotry or prejudice or bias. But, at the same time, I think it is practically certain that he was a most ardent worshipper of Shiva. Look at the three verses invoking the blessing of God at the beginning of his three famous dramas. They are all invocations to Shiva or Eswara. The same remark applies to the first verse of *Raghuramsa*. Of *Kumarasambhava*, the other great epic of Kalidasa, Shiva himself is the central figure. Then, again, look at the evidence furnished by *Meghasandesha*. The same profound attachment to Shiva shews itself repeatedly. There are innumerable references to Shiva and everything near and dear to Shiva. There is reference to Skanda, there is reference to Gowri, and to Ganga, reference to Shiva's dress, to his laughter, to his bull. The Yaksha in *Meghasandesha* urges the cloud messenger to travel as fast as he can, but when he speaks of the temple of Mahakala or Eswara, he instructs the cloud to halt till sunset even if he should reach the place at any other time. It is not that Kalidasa like a bigot does not make any reference to other deities. There is reference to Krishna, गोपवंशस्य विष्णोः there is reference to Balarama बलरामस्य दासः सिमेधे and so forth. There is a whole canto devoted to Brahma in *Kumarasambhava*. But his reference to these deities is only in passing or by way of simile. There is not the same warmth and tenderness, the same delicate play of delighted fancy, the same devoted and affectionate reverence as when he describes Shiva or anything connected with Shiva. Take, for instance, the

Sloka :

शब्दायन्ते मधुरमनिलैः क्रीचकाः पूर्यमाणाः
संसक्तमिस्त्रिपुर विजयोगीयते किन्नरीभिः ।
निर्हीदस्ते मुरजश्चचेत् कन्दरेषु ध्वनिः स्यात्
संगीतार्थो ननुपशुपते स्तस्त्वमार्वा समग्रः ॥

or, again, the stanza :

तत्रन्यस्तं दृपदिचरणन्यासमर्द्धेन्दु मौलेः
शश्वद्भक्तै रूपचितवलिभक्ति नद्यः परीयाः ।
यस्मिन्दृष्टे करण विगमाद्ध्य मुदधूतपापाः
सकल्पन्तेस्थिर गणपदप्राप्तये भद्रधानाः ॥

or, again, the verse :

द्वित्वातस्मिन् भुजगवलयं शंभुनादत्तहस्ता
क्रीडाशैलेयदिचविचरेत् पादचारेण गौरी ।
भृङ्गीभक्त्या विरचितवपुः स्तंभितान्तर्जलावः
सोपानत्वंकुरुमनितटारोहणायाम्रयार्था ॥

The conclusion seems irresistible from these and similar other verses that the poet was a devoted and ardent follower of Shiva. If, however, there could be any doubt on the subject, it is, I think, set at rest by the well known *sloka* in the second canto of *Kumarasambhava* :

सहिदेवः परंज्योतिः तमःपरे न्यवस्थितं ।
परिछिन्न प्रभावद्विनमयानचविष्णुना ॥

Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara are the three members of the Indian trinity, and, in this verse, Kalidasa makes Brahma say that neither he nor Vishnu could measure the power and wealth of Shiva. If anything can be conclusive, I think this verse is, in respect of Kalidasa's religion.

Dr. Venkatasubbaiya's learned paper on the 'Sociological Ideals' of Kalidasa is exceedingly interesting and instructive. But it is rather difficult to follow him in his arguments when he says, as I understood him to say in his paper, that in Kalidasa's time, there was no king who had the interests of his subjects at heart, and that in those days men were avaricious, and kings mercilessly squeezed out all that they could from their subjects. If the writings of a poet may be regarded—and I have no doubt that to some extent, at least, they may be regarded—as reflecting the sociological conditions of the time, then there must have been many unselfish and benign rulers in those days; also many men of high spiritual culture who did not attach much importance to worldly wealth and possessions. See, for example, the verse in *Raghuvamsa*, where it is said about Dilipa :

प्रजानामेवभूत्यर्थं सताम्बोवलिमग्रहीत् ।
सहस्रगुणमुत्प्लुष्टं मादत्तेहि रसरविः ॥

That is to say, whatever taxes Dilipa took from his subjects, he utilised for their benefit even as the sun takes moisture to give it back a

thousandfold. The selflessness of kings of the time is also shewn by the *Yagna* performed by Raghu, in the course of which he gave away all his earthly possessions to deserving people. He had not even a single metallic vessel left, so that when Kautsya came to him, he had to offer him *Arghya* in a mud pot. In order to satisfy the demands of this *Rishi*, he derived a very large amount of wealth by his prowess from Kubera, and when he wanted to give away all this wealth to the Brahmin, the Brahmin declined to take a farthing more than what was required for being given to his *Guru*. There was a regular dispute between the two in the presence of the public of *Saketa*, the king wanting to give all, and the Brahmin declining to take more than what was necessary. I do not think that such pictures can be regarded as an indication that kings were extortionate in those days and that people were greedy and avaricious.

I have nothing but whole-hearted appreciation for Rao Bahadur Mr. K. Krishna Iyengar's learned, lucid, humorous and delicious paper about 'Kalidasa and Shakespeare.' He has taken double the allotted time of one quarter of an hour, and I think no one here regrets that he has done so, for the half-hour he took passed like half a minute. I admire the way in which he explained the respective merits of both these illustrious poets. In brief, he said that Shakespeare excels in force, in vigour, in power, in the wide and comprehensive range of his characters, in intensity of emotions, in his remarkable insight into the depths of the human heart, in his breathless feverish activity and energy. But in tenderness of thought and expression, in the delicacy of fine touches, in unutterable grace, in exquisite beauty, and in the power of playing softly on the chords of the human heart, Kalidasa is, indeed, unapproachable.

Gentlemen, the hour is getting late, and I must conclude with a few general remarks. Kalidasa, I think, reflected the spirit of his times in his writings, as Shakespeare did and as all great poets do, and, therefore, his fame has fluctuated according to changes in the spirit of the age. It is a mistake to suppose that Kalidasa's fame has stood at a uniformly high level through all the centuries of ebb and flow in Indian civilization and culture. Take, for example, the famous verse:

धन्वन्तरिक्षपणकामरसिंहसंकुः वेतालभट्टचक्रपूर कालिदासाः ।

ख्यातोवराहमिहिरोत्पलः सभायाम् रत्नानिवैदरुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

It simply enumerates the names of the several gems or geniuses in the court of Vikramaditya. You will notice that Kalidasa is not mentioned with any degree of prominence here. He comes at the fag-end of long compound names. Varahamihira gets a separate mention as also the adjective *ख्यात*. But no such honour for Kalidasa. It is clear that when this *sloka* was com-

posed, spirituality and original thought were decaying in India. Forms and ceremonies and superficialities were the predominant features, and the astrologer is more in favour than the philosopher and the poet. Take, again, the saying:

उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थं गौरवं ।
नैषधेपदलालित्यं नाधेस्तन्ति क्षयोगुणाः ॥

Here, Kalidasa is described as possessing only one merit, namely, that of beautiful similes, whereas Māgha is described as having all the three merits. This verse, also, I think, implies a stage of decadence—an age when literary taste cared more for cleverness in arranging words and for linguistic acrobatics—rather than for beauty and depth of thought. Of course, a period of reaction came, and Kalidasa, again, came into favour. He was appreciated. It was found out that his works had not been properly explained and understood :

भारतां कालिदासस्य दुर्व्याख्या विपनूहिता ।
एषांस्त्रीवनीटीका तामस जाबयिष्यति ॥

Great commentators arose and explained his works in a proper manner, and, as usual in such cases, popular feeling ran to the opposite extreme as indicated by the verse :

कालिदास गिरासारं कालिदासः सरस्वती ।
चतुर्मुखोऽथवा साक्षात् विदुर्नान्येतु मादृशाः ॥

That is, the full meaning of Kalidasa's words is known only to Kalidasa himself, to Saraswati and to Brahma ; to none else.

I shall now conclude with a few words, as to why we regard Kalidasa as pre-eminently the national poet of India. It is not on account of his merit as a great epic poet, it is not on account of his transcendental dramatic powers, it is not for the wide range and the profound depth of his scholarship and knowledge of the various sciences and arts, but it is on account of the spirituality which permeates the characters he has represented and the ideals which he has set forth before us. In describing the kings of the solar race, he has said :

वार्द्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां योगेनान्ते तनुव्रजाम् ।

The kings in old age lived the life of hermits and in the end gave up their body in Yoga. This was really a spiritual ideal. That this was not a mere distant ideal but represented actual practice is shewn by the verse :

अथमुविषयव्यावृतात्मा यथाविधिमुनवे
नृपतिकुकुददत्वायूनेसितातप वारणम् ।
मुनिवनतरुच्छायादिव्यातया सह शिश्रिये
गलितवयसा मिक्ष्णाकूनामिदं हि कुलव्रतम् ॥

Here is the spiritual ideal followed in actual practice in the affairs of everyday life. In *Kumarasambhava* also, he has set a very high spiritual ideal. Uma is a princess, rich, beautiful and accomplished. Not only the kings of earth, but also the Devas in heaven are anxious to get her hand in marriage, but she does not care for any of them. She does not care for worldly power, riches and wealth.

इयं भवेन्द्रप्रभृती नपिश्रियः चतुर्दिगांश्च नवमल्य मानिनी ।

अरूपहार्यं मदनस्य निग्रहात् पिनाकपाणिं पतिमाप्नु मिच्छति ॥

She rejects them all and wants to get the spiritual Lord Eswara for her husband, though he is but a beggar from the point of view of material wealth. This spirituality is, again, shewn clearly in the last verse of *Sakunthala*. King Dushyanta unexpectedly met his wife whom he had lost and for whom he had been suffering extreme mental anguish. He met his son—his own beautiful cherub boy—with her, and was at the zenith of his happiness. At that moment, the *rishi* asks him as to whether he wants anything more. A poet with a less high spiritual ideal would have made the king say, "My happiness is perfect, and I do not want anything more." But not so, Kalidasa, the spiritual poet of spiritual India. Even at this moment of supreme earthly happiness, he represents king Dushyanta as wanting something more—having something to ask. And what is that? The object which all true Hindus have at heart—an object which only a Hindu can understand and appreciate. "May the Lord Nilalohita," says Dushyanta, "release me from future births." Who but a sublimely spiritual person can at the very moment of highest worldly bliss and happiness say that he does not want future births in which to enjoy such happiness? Many men may want to be released from future births in their hours of sorrow and grief, but to desire to be released from future births even when one is at the height of human happiness, requires, indeed, a very clear perspective of the relative position of the temporal and the spiritual—a truly spiritual frame of mind.

If there is anything of which India can be proud, it is her spiritual ideal and the spiritual nature of her culture and civilization. If there is any bed-rock serving as foundation for Indian society to rest upon, secure from the tempests of centuries and the storms of varying fortunes and circumstances, it is this solid foundation of spirituality. It is because in all his great works, Kalidasa has kept the spiritual ideal of the Indian nation steadily and persistently in view, it is because everything that he has written is permeated by the invigorating and life-giving current of spirituality that he can so easily touch and play with the chord of the Indian heart. It is for this that he is and will for ever remain enshrined in the throne of the national poet of India.

LIFE OF KALIDASA

BY RAO BAHADUR R. A. NARASIMHACHARIAR, ESQ., M.A., M.R.A.S.

KALIDASA, that illustrious son of the Muses, is, as you are aware, the greatest poet and dramatist of India. He has a world-wide reputation, and may be said to have done honour not merely to his own nation but to all civilised mankind. His works are masterpieces of Sanskrit literature. The richness of creative fancy, and the skill in the expression of tender feeling displayed in his dramas, entitle him to a very high place among the dramatists of the world. It was his immortal drama *Śākuntala* that first attracted the attention of European scholars to the wealth and beauty of Sanskrit literature; and it has been rightly said that the freshness, tenderness and pathos of the drama have seldom been excelled by any other creation of the human imagination. His poems, too, abound in truly poetical ideas and display great fertility of imagination and power of description. The *Raghuvamśa* is believed to be one of the finest of the productions of the author's genius, and the *Mēghadūta*, one of the most perfect products of the poetic art, unique in its richness of description and melody of verse. The latter work has had several imitations, such as the *Hamsa-sandēśa*, the *Śuka-sandēśa* and so forth; and Jinasēna, a Jaina poet of the eighth century, thought it fit to incorporate a quarter, and sometimes a half of each of its verses in his work *Pārśvabhyaudaya*, written in praise of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *Tirthankara*. The high esteem in which Kālidāsa was held is evidenced by the two verses given below:—

यस्यादश्चोरश्चिकुरनिकरः कर्णपूरो मयूरो ।
हासो भासः कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासो विलासः ॥
हयो हयौ हृदयवसतिः पंचबाणस्तु बाणः ।
केषां तेषां कविषु कविताकामिनी कौतुकाय ॥
पुरा कवीनां गणनाप्रसंगे कनिष्ठिकाधिष्ठितकालिदासा ।
अद्यापि तत्तुल्यकवेरभावादानामिका सार्धवती बभूव ॥

The first verse, which is attributed to Jayadēva, represents various poets as forming various parts or attributes of the lady of poetry—the poet Chora being her front locks, Mayūra her ear-ornament, Bhāsa her smile, the chief of poets Kālidāsa her beauty, Harsha her pleasure, Bāṇa the god of Love residing in her heart. The most important possession of a lady is beauty, and Kālidāsa is made to represent it. The second verse says that when

once a counting was made of poets, Kālidāsa being the greatest poet, his name was naturally counted on the little finger, and that owing to the absence even now of a poet equal to him, the name of the next finger, *anāmikā* (the nameless), became appropriately significant. The ring-finger is known as *anāmikā* in Sanskrit.

It is matter for regret that nothing is known of the private life of this greatest poet of India. There are only a few traditions about him which are not very satisfactory. Discussions are going on even now with regard to the period in which he lived. In these circumstances a biographical sketch of the poet is out of the question, and the few words that I am going to say on the subject may be taken for what they are worth.

More than twenty scholars have written commentaries on Kālidāsa's works; but none of them has deemed it fit to give us any details of his life. According to orthodox tradition, he was one of the "Nine Gems" that adorned the court of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era, which dates from B.C. 57, the other "Gems" being Dhanvantari, Kshapaṇaka, Amarasimha, Śanku, Vēṭāla-bhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpāra, Varāhamihira and Vararuchi. There is likewise another tradition which makes him the court poet of king Bhoja of Dhārā, who ruled in the first half of the eleventh century. But both these traditions are not founded on fact. Archæological research knows no Vikramāditya who founded the Vikrama era in B.C. 57. This era was known as the Mālava era down to about A.D. 800, when it began to be styled the Vikrama era. As Kālidāsa quotes from Vātsyāyana (second or third century A.D.), he could not have lived in the first century B.C. Further, from the Aihole inscription of the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśi II, of A.D. 634 (*Epigraphia Indica* VI, 1-12), we learn that Kālidāsa's fame had become established throughout India in the first half of the seventh century, nearly four hundred years before the time of king Bhoja of Dhārā. The composer of this inscription, a Jaina poet of the name of Ravikirti, says that by his poetic skill he had attained to the fame of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi.

The following is another tradition current among the people about Kālidāsa:—

He was the son of a Brāhman named Kālīyaśarma of Kālīkāpuri. His parents having died of snake-bite on one and the same day, the orphan came under the protection of a cowherd and was tending his cattle. The king of the place had a well educated daughter, who caused considerable anxiety to her parents by rejecting every suitor who was inferior to her in learning. The minister of the king played a trick on the proud princess, and had her married to the cowherd boy. The deceived princess took her husband to the shrine of Kālī, and prayed to the goddess to take pity on her

and bless her husband with learning. The goddess granted her prayer and wrote out on the tongue of the cowherd boy the expression अस्तिकश्चन्द्राविशेषः. The boy instantly burst into poetry and composed the three poems *Kumāra-sambhava*, *Mēghadūta* and *Raghuvamśa*, making the first three words *asti*, *kaśchit* and *vāk* of the above expression the opening words of the poems respectively.

Kālidāsa seems to have lived principally at Ujjain, judging from the circumstance that his dramas were enacted there. I learn from Mr. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., that a school of Bengal historians are seriously trying to prove that Kālidāsa was a Bengali. He invariably invokes Śiva at the beginning of his works. Still, his veneration for Vishnu is not less: there are passages in his works extolling Vishnu as the head of the Hindu pantheon. He appears to have been the worshipper of a personal god.

Some believe that the author has left his *Raghuvamśa* incomplete, and suppose that he may have died before finishing it. Whatever may be the truth about this matter, the fact has to be recognised that the work does not end happily, the last canto presenting to us the widowed queen of Agnivarman on the throne.

The following extract¹ from *The Buried Cities of Ceylon* embodies a Ceylonese tradition about the death of Kālidāsa in Ceylon by the hand of a courtesan:—

The tragic end of Mogallana's successor Kumaradas (A.D. 515), is worthy of record. One night, when in the house of a courtesan, the king wrote a riddle on the wall, promising to him who could interpret it the fulfilment of any request he might proffer. The celebrated Indian poet, Pandita Kālidāsa, visited the courtesan's house soon afterwards, and answered the riddle; but the courtesan, wishing to keep for herself the renown and the reward, murdered the poet, buried him under her house and claimed the authorship of the answer. The king, incredulous and suspicious, caused search to be made; the body of Kālidāsa was discovered, the murderer put to death, and a huge funeral pile was raised to cremate the poet's remains. When the flames were at their height, the king, struck with remorse at the irreparable loss, rushed into the fire and was burned; and his five queens immediately followed his example and were consumed with him.

Kumārādāsa, the author of the poem *Jānakiharana*, is believed to be identical with the Ceylon king Kumārādāsa mentioned in the above extract as having burned himself on the funeral pyre of Kālidāsa. The poet Rājaśc-

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., for this extract which, he tells me, was furnished to him by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., the Diwan of Mysore.

khara, who flourished about A.D. 900, mentions in his work called *Kāvya-māmsā* ² the interesting fact that the poet Kumāradāsa was born blind. If this statement is borne out by the chronicles of Ceylon in respect of king Kumāradāsa, we can then be sure of the identity of the poet with the king.

The date of Kālidāsa has been discussed by many able scholars, but the question has not yet been satisfactorily settled. The balance of evidence is in favour of the view that he flourished in the fifth or sixth century A.D. As stated before, his fame had become fully established in the first half of the seventh century. Dr. Hoernle has come to the conclusion that Kālidāsa lived between A.D. 490 and 550 during the reign of Yaśodharman-Vikramāditya. There are others who think that the period, A.D. 400-413 of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, is the most probable approximate date for the poet. Professor Pāthak concludes from internal evidence in the *Raghuvamśa* that the poet flourished between A.D. 445 and 480 during the reign of Skandagupta Vikramāditya. His arguments are given thus:—

Verses 67 and 68 of the 4th canto of the *Raghuvamśa* tell us that Raghu defeated the Hūṇas in the country watered by the Vaṅkshu or the Oxus. According to the commentary of Kshiraśvami (eleventh century), the country referred to is Bāhlika or Bactria. We have here interesting historical information about the Hūṇas, who held sway over Bactria. And there is a consensus of opinion among scholars that the date of the appearance of the Hūṇas in the Oxus basin was in the first half of the fifth century. They invaded India, and were defeated by Skandagupta-Vikramāditya shortly after A.D. 450. Kālidāsa refers to them when still in the Oxus valley before their first defeat in India. Eager to enhance his glory, he makes Raghu vanquish the Hūṇas of the fifth century and falls into an anachronism. Kālidāsa's connection with Vikramāditya is the result of some confused reminiscence of the defeat of the Hūṇas by Skandagupta, also called Vikramāditya.

From the affinities with Kālidāsa's works found in Kumāragupta's Mandasor inscription, of A.D. 473, composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi, it may, perhaps, be inferred that our poet lived before that date.

There are several stories current of Kālidāsa having helped poor ignorant men in procuring rewards from kings for learning, of which they were perfectly innocent. I close this paper with one of these stories: A poor ignorant man waited upon Kālidāsa for several days with a prayer that he might be recommended to the king for a reward. As he was an ignoramus, and as there was no chance of such men being rewarded by the king, our poet told the man to get by heart the sentence त्रिषाढा परिहारस्तु (May you be free from the three troubles), and go over to him after he had completely mastered it. The man repeated the sentence day and night for about a fortnight and then

went to the poet, who, after assuring himself that he could repeat the sentence correctly, took him to the king's court and introduced him to the king as a great scholar. He at the same time made a sign to the man, whereupon, to his great consternation, he uttered the sentence त्रिषीडास्तु (May you have three troubles), facing the king. The king and the court were amazed at the sentence. Then Kālidāsa rose and told the king that he would explain the meaning of the succinct utterance of the scholar. It was a brief statement of the contents of the following verse :—

आसने विप्रपीडास्तु शिशुपीडा च भोजने ।

शयने दारपीडा च त्रिषीडास्तु दिने दिने ॥

When you are seated, may there be the trouble of rising to receive Brāhmans; when you are eating, may you have trouble from children; and when in bed, may there be trouble from your wife. May you have these three troubles every day.

I need not say that the man received a liberal reward.

THE AGE OF KALIDASA

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Foreword.—In this essay I attempt for the first time to collect all available evidence bearing on the date of Kalidasa and allied topics. To make the treatment exhaustive, I borrow freely from all sources, and, since the debts are manifold, it is impossible to remember and acknowledge all of them here. I have, therefore, mentioned names only where it was necessary for verification, and acknowledge here once for all with great pleasure my indebtedness to all previous workers in this field. I claim for myself only the credit of drawing my own inferences and adding the results, few as they are, of my own humble research. Statements for which no authorities are quoted have been proved elsewhere in this essay.

The Limits.—The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, dated three thousand seven hundred and thirty-five years after the Kali era, and five hundred and fifty-six years after the Saka kings—634 A.D. (*Epi. Ind.* VI., p. 7), refers to the fame of Kalidasa 'who must, therefore, have lived before 600 A.D. On the other hand, the hero of his *Malavikāgnimitra* is Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra' पुष्यमित्रः पुष्यमित्रमित्रन्. V.), the father of Vasumitra 'अतिपरेखल पुत्रः सेनापतिना नियुक्तः. V.), and the foe of the minister of the Maurya (I. 7). Also Pushyamitra is here called Senapati, i.e., the general. So this king is Agnimitra Sunga of the Puranas. 'Pushyamitra, the commander-in-chief, will uproot Brihadratha, the last Maurya, and will rule the kingdom as king . . . His son Agnimitra. . . his son Vasumitra.' (Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 70.) Agnimitra's accession dates 150 B.C. (Smith: *Early History of India*, p. 203.) So Kalidasa did not live before 150 B.C. Thus, the limits for the date of Kalidasa are 150 B.C. and 600 A.D.

The Agnimitra Theory.—Katayavema (1411 A.D. *Epi. Ind.* IV, pp. 321-5) in commenting on the *Bharatavakya* of the *Malavikāgnimitra*, says that, contrary to the rule that the *Bharatavakya* should be applicable to all times, Kalidasa mentions Agnimitra by name therein, and that therefore they were contemporaries. But Visakhadatta (550-600 A.D.) likewise mentions Chandragupta by name in the *Bharatavakya* of his *Mudraraksasa*, and on the same reasoning, Visakhadatta should have been the contemporary

of Chandragupta Maurya (321-297 B.C.), Chandragupta I (319-330 A.D.), or Chandragupta II (375-413 A.D.). But, since he mentions Huns as wild Indian tribes (V. 11), he cannot have lived before 528 A.D. when the Huns, defeated by Yesodharman, began to decline. So the argument fails equally in the case of Kalidasa. That Katayavema is unreliable is clear from the fact that he explains 'Mauryasachiva,' i.e., the minister of the Maurya as meaning 'the minister named Maurya.'

The 'Nine-Gems' Theory.--The *Jyotir-vidabharana*, an astrological work which professes to have been written by Kalidasa, the author of *Raghuvamsa*, in the court of Vikramaditya in 34 B.C.: 'काव्यस्य सुमतिरुद्भवं प्रापूर्वं जातं यतोननु कियच्छ्रुतिकर्मवादः । ज्योतिर्विदाभरणकालविधानशास्त्रं श्रीकालिदासकवितो हि ततो बभूव ॥ वयं: सिन्धुरद-
शनाम्बरगुणैयते कलौ मुनिमते मासे माधवसंज्ञकेषु विहितोऽग्रन्थक्रियोपक्रमः ॥') says that, in that king's court were nine literary gems, including Kalidasa: (धन्वन्तरिदापणकामर-
सिंहशङ्कुवेतालमृगशरपरकालिदासाः । स्वातो बराहमीहरो नृपतेः सभायां रत्नानि वै वररत्नचिन्तविक्रमस्य ॥). The work was commented upon only in 1711 A.D. by Bhavaratna. There is no reference whatever in Sanskrit literature to this alleged work of Kalidasa: nor to the work on *Srutikarmavada* which he is herein stated to have composed. These *slokas* do not refer to the famous plays of Kalidasa, which were all composed before *Raghuvamsa*. The same work refers to Salivahana as an era maker (युधिष्ठिरे विक्रमशालिवाहनौ नराधिनाथौ विजयाभिनन्दनः । इमेतुनागार्जुनमेदिनीविभु-
र्बलिः क्रमात् षड् शककारकाः कलौ. X. ॥०). The Hindus never in early times connected an individual name with any of their reckonings. The era of 78 A.D. was for several centuries called 'the era of the Saka kings,' or 'the Saka era,' and is associated with Salivahana for the first time in the Harihar record of king Bukkaraya I, dated 1354 A.D. (*J.R.A.S.* 1916, pp. 809-820). This astrological work, therefore, dates after 1350 A.D. In any case the author who professes to have composed all his works in 34 B.C., could not refer to an era started $33+78$ =one hundred and eleven years later. Moreover, the Kali era appears for the first time in the astronomical *Siddhantas* (450 A.D.), and among inscriptions in the Aihole inscription (634 A.D.). Yet this author professes to use it in 34 B.C. So the work is a forgery. It makes Dhanvantari, whose disciple Susruta (whom Dr. Hoernle assigns to the sixth century B.C.) claims to be, Amara (300 A.D.), Kalidasa, and Varahamihira who died in 587 A.D. (नवाधिकषष्ठशतसंख्यशके बराहमिहिराचार्यो दिवं गतः Amara's commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khandakhadya*) contemporaries at the court of a Vikramaditya in 34 B.C. This Vikramaditya is supposed to have founded the era of 58 B.C. There could have been no Vikramaditya of Malva in 58 B.C. The era for four hundred years after it was started was without any name. Then in 343 and 371 A.D., it was called 'Krita' 'यांतपु चतुष्टयेपु मौम्येपु भ्रमिन्मोत्तरपदेपु इहवत्सरपु

Gangdhar inscription of Visvavarman. *Gupta Inscriptions*; p. 75; कृतेषु चतुर्विंशतेष्वष्टविंशेषु. Bijaygadh inscription of Vishnuvardhana *G. I.*, p. 253). Then, in 404 and 424 A.D., it was called both 'Krita', and 'the era traditionally handed down by the Malava tribe.' (श्रीमल्लिवगणान्नाते प्रशस्ते कृतसंज्ञिते । एकपष्टयधिके प्राप्ते समाशतचतुष्टये. third Mandasor inscription; कृतेषु चतुर्विंशतेषु एकासीत्युत्तरेष्वस्यां मालव पूर्वायां Nagari inscription). Thereafter it was called by the latter name only. (मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये । खिन्नवत्यधिकेन्द्रानां *G. I.*, p. 87; पञ्चचतुष्टये शरदां यातेष्वेकान्नवतिसंहितेषु । मालवगणस्थितिवशात्. *G. I.*, p. 158. The earliest instance of the era being called 'Vikrama' (विक्रमाख्यकाल) is a Dholpur inscription of 842 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 406. No. 10). The earliest instance of the era being plainly attributed to a king Vikramaditya, is the Eklingji inscription, dated 971 A.D. (*J.B.B.R.A.S.* XXII, p. 166). The earliest literary instance of the same is in Amitagati's *Subhashita-ratna-sandoha*, dated 993 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* XX, p. 406, No. 40). Thus both literary and epigraphical evidence is against attributing the foundation of the era to Vikramaditya. Somadeva (1070 A.D.) says in his *Kathasaritsagara* that Vikramaditya, son of Mahendraditya of Ujjain, destroyed the Mlecchas. 'Vikramaditya' was a title of Skandagupta (455-470 A.D.), and 'Mahendraditya' was a title of his father Kumaragupta (413-455 A.D.) Albiruni (1030 A.D.) says, 'The Guptas were wicked powerful people, and, when they ceased to exist, this date, i.e., 319 A.D., was used as the epoch of an era.' (*India Trans.* Sachau II, p. 7.) We know that the Gupta era dates from the rise to power of the first Gupta king Chandragupta I, and that the Guptas, far from being wicked, were the patrons of literature, art and religion. This shows that in the eleventh century A.D., all accounts of even the Guptas had been lost. Only confused recollections of Skandagupta's victory over the Huns had survived. So the Malva era came to be associated with Vikramaditya, especially as Skandagupta was in his father's life-time the viceroys in Ujjain. There is no reference to Vikramaditya in the Pauranic accounts of the kings of the Kali age, since they stop with a bare mention of the Guptas who were still ruling at the time of their compilation, and since Vikramaditya was a Gupta. There could have been no Vikramaditya of Malva in the latter half of the first century B.C., since Mr. R. D. Banerji has proved that, in that very period, Nahapana ruled over Malva (*J.R.A.S.* 1917, pp. 273-289). Inscriptions of Nahapana's son-in-law Ushavadata, at Nasik and Karle, date 41, 42 & 45. An inscription of Nahapana's minister Ayama, at Junnar, dates 46. The Andhan inscription of Saka Rudradaman dates Saka 52=130 A.D. If Nahapana's Junnar record refers to the same era, we have only 52-46=six years for the following events to occur. The Nasik inscription of the nineteenth year of Sri Vasisthiputra Pulhmayi (*Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 60) claims that his

father Gautamiputra Satakarni rooted out the Kshaharata race, and Nahapana is called Kshaharata Kshatrapa in a Nasik inscription. (*Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 82.) The provinces conquered by Gautamiputra and recovered from the Andhras by Rudradaman include Akaravanti (Malva); Kaccha (Cutch); Surashtra (Kathiawar); Anupa, etc. (Nasik inscription of nineteenth year of Sri Vasisthiputra Pulumayi *Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 60; Girnar inscription of Rudradaman, *Epi. Ind.* VIII, p. 44.) Rudra says he acquired these by his own prowess, and as Andhra is in Cutch, Rudra recovered these territories before 130 A.D. There have been found, at Nasik, records of Gautamiputra's eighteenth and twenty-fourth years (*Epi. Ind.* VIII, pp. 60 and 73), and of his son Vasisthiputra Pulumayi's second, sixth, nineteenth and twenty-second years (*J.B.B.R.A.S.* X, pp. 122-3, Nos. 1122-4). It is impossible to crowd within the six years, 124 to 130 A.D., the destruction of the Kshaharatas by Gautamiputra, the continuous possession of Nasik by the Andras from Gautamiputra's eighteenth year to Vasisthiputra's twenty-second year, and its recovery by Rudradaman. So Nahapana's inscriptions are not in the Saka era. The characters of the inscriptions of Sodasa at Mathura, dated 72 Malva era 15 A.D., are later than those of Nahapana (*J.B.B.R.A.S.* XX, p. 275). So Nahapana's forty-six dates before 15 A.D., and as the Malva era was the only era which started in the first century B.C., Nahapana's inscriptions are dated in that era. The great Jogalthembi hoard of more than thirteen thousand silver coins of Nahapana proves that the coinage extended over many years. So it is very probable that the Malva era starts from his accession, and as Akaravanti (Malva) was one of the provinces conquered from his successors by Gautamiputra, he ruled over Malva in the first century B.C., and thus crowds out the possibility of a Vikramaditya. So the reference to a Vikramaditya in Hala's *Gathasaptasati* (V, 64) is suspicious. That this Hala was a Satavahana is a mere tradition. There is nothing to show that the *Kosa* of Satavahana, to which Bana refers, is identical with this work. The *Saptasati* refers to 'Tuesday' (III. 61) and Radhika (I. 89). But the Hindus did not know week days before 170 A.D., and we do not find any other reference to Radhika before 500 A.D. So the *Saptasati* is referring to Skandagupta and belongs to the fifth or the sixth century A.D.

The Foreign Domination Theory.—It has been argued from the abrupt endings of the *Kumarasambhava* and the *Raghuvamsha* that Kalidasa purposely left them incomplete in order to suggest that India was in his time under the domination of foreigners, and that he, therefore, lived before 320 A.D. Another alternative, however, suggests itself. The *Kumarasambhava* was the earliest work of Kalidasa, and in choosing the birth and exploits of the saviour of the gods, he had aimed too high, and with his poetic powers as yet

but imperfectly developed, he had found it impossible to sustain the theme at the uniform level of epic dignity that it deserved, and, therefore, he left it incomplete. Kalidasa is not avowedly relating the history of his own times, and the political references, if any, are only incidental. The use of the word लम्पप्रतिष्ठा : (Kum. II, 27), in reference to the gods implies nothing whatever, since it is immediately followed by प्रथमे (*i.e.*, पूर्व Mallinatha), thereby indicating that the gods also only obtained heaven as a reward for the sacrifices they had performed; that, far from being immortal, they, too, when their merit is exhausted, must come back to this world; that their position is always in danger from Asuras as here; or from men with the energy for manifold sacrifices; and that, therefore, the envious gods are always vigilant to frustrate the aims of aspiring men by throwing temptations in their way. Kalidasa himself elsewhere expresses this idea. When Anasuya says that the suspicious gods sent Menaka to obstruct Visvamitra's penance, Dushyanta remarks that the gods are, indeed, always afraid of others' concentrated thoughts (Sak. I). The abrupt ending of the *Raghuvamsa* also is easily explained. It was the last work of Kalidasa, and he might have died before he could complete it. So from these abrupt endings, no inferences as to the political conditions in the time of Kalidasa can be deduced.

The Yasodharman Theory.—Some maintain that Kalidasa was the protege of Yasodharman, who defeated the Hun Mihirakula in 528 A.D. It is argued that Kalidasa shows intimate acquaintance with the Himalayas which Yasodharman was the first to make accessible. But Yasodharman only claims that he made it *easy* of access. 'He through the embraces of whose arms the Himalaya carries no longer the pride of the title of being a place *difficult* of access.' (*Corpus Inscrip. Indic.* II., No. 33, pp. 147-8.) Kalidasa's acquaintance with the Himalayas is as much attributable to his keen powers of observation as to its easy accessibility. The Utsavasanketas are identified with the Tibetans. Raghu defeated the Utsavasanketas (IV. 78), received their presents (IV. 79), and descended from the Himalayan peaks without going even to the Kailasa peak. (IV. 80 and Mallinatha's Comm.) The Utsavasanketas were, therefore, on the Indian side of the Himalaya and not in Tibet. Before descending from the peaks, Raghu unshakeably placed thereon his heap of fame. (तत्र यशोराशिः अक्षोभ्यं निवेद्य IV. 80.) Mallinatha explains तत्र as हिमाद्रौ, and अक्षोभ्यं as अपृष्यं. Yet Mr. H. P. Sastri takes तत्र to indicate Tibet, and the epithet अक्षोभ्य to mean the Mahayana Buddhist God Akshobhya. From Kalidasa's reference to the desertion of Ayodhya in *Raghuvamsa* XVII, it is argued that the poet must have witnessed its desertion by the Guptas. But this desertion of Ayodhya by Rama's sons is referred to in the *Ramayana* itself. (अयोध्याविजनां

कृत्वा. *Ramayana*. Nirnayasaagara Ed. VII. 108. 4-5.) Another argument is based on the fact that there is a statue of Skanda on horseback near the Skanda temple, on Devagiri hill, on the road from Ujjain to Mandasor, and it is therefrom inferred that the temple must have been dedicated to Skanda-Gupta after his death. But the god Skanda was the leader of the divine armies in battle against the Asuras, and might, therefore, be represented as on horseback. Then it is argued from *Kum.* III. 27 (निवेशयानासमधुद्विरेकान् नामाक्षराणीव मनोभवस्य), that only in the Brahmi alphabet of the sixth century A.D., e.g., in the Mandasor inscription, all syllables of मनोभव are broad at the top and the bottom, and thin in the middle, each thus resembling a black bee. But this applies equally well to the fifth century-inscriptions. These are the main arguments of the supporters of this theory. There is nothing to show that Yasodharma was called or called himself Vikramaditya, though, no doubt, he defeated Mihirakula. 'He whose prowess the command of the chief of the Hunas that established itself on the tiaras of many kings failed to penetrate, he to whose feet respect was paid by even that king Mihirakula.' (Mandasor inscription of 532 A.D.) On the other hand, the Ceylon *Pujavaliya* makes a Kalidasa, and his patron Kumara Dhatusena die in 524 A.D. So the famous Kalidasa is not later than 500 A.D. The *Panchatantra* (translated into Pehlevi for Khusru Anushirwan of Persia 531-579 A.D.) quotes *Kum.* II. 55 which formed part of the translated work. (Cf. *Panchatantra* I. 51; Telang's 'Was *Ramayana* copied from Homer, pp. 36-59.) Allowing for Kalidasa to become famous enough to be quoted in the *Panchatantra*, and for the latter in its turn to become famous enough to be translated into a foreign language, Kalidasa cannot be later than 500 A.D. A comparison of Vatsabhatti's verses 10 and 11 in the Mandasor inscription, dated 473 A.D. (चलत्पताकानि अबलामनाथानिअलब्धशुद्धानि अधिकांशतानि । तद्विलतानिचलसिताभ्रकटतुल्योपमानानि गृह्णाणियत्; G. I., p. 83; *Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 198) with Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* (Pathak Ed.) sixty-sixth *stoka* proves that Vatsabhatti is the borrower. It is, moreover, likely that the composer of an inscription should imitate the compositions of a popular author, but not that a poet should investigate into a pillar inscription, like an epigraphist, to get models for his imitation. Vatsabhatti is only cataloguing the items of Kalidasa's organic description almost in his very words. Like Kalidasa, Vatsabhatti is fond of the word सुभग, and his प्रसादमालाभिः, in verse 12, is an imitation of प्रसादमालासु (*Kum.* VII. 56). The poet, who admits (verse 44) that he wrote प्रयत्नेन is anxious to show that he used the best models. Moreover, he plays on the word Bandhuvarman exactly as does Kalidasa with the names of the Raghuides in *Raghu* XVIII, (बन्धुप्रिया बन्धुखिप्रजानां बन्ध्यातिहर्तानृपबन्धुवर्म) verse 26. So Kalidasa composed all his works before 450 A.D.

The Ramayana.—The *Ramayana* says Rama had many wives (II. 8. 12), while Kalidasa says Rama did not know any other than Sita. (*Raghu* XV.61.) In the *Ramayana*, Gautama curses Ahalya only to feed on wind alone, full of repentance, lying on ashes and unseen of all beings in that hermitage. (I. 48. 30.) Nor does Rama touch her with his feet. On the contrary, *he* falls in prostration at *her* feet. (I. 49. 16-7.) But Kalidasa believed in her transformation into a stone and release therefrom by the dust of Rama's feet. (*Raghu* XI. 34.) The *Ramayana* does not say that a bridge of *floating* stones was built across the sea between Ramesvaram and Lanka, as Kalidasa seems to do. (*Rama*, VI. 22; *Ragh.* XII. 70, with Mallinatha's Comm.) It simply says that the monkeys filled up the sea with stones, trees, etc. (VI. 22. 53, 61.) The *Ramayana* says Narada related to Valmiki the story of Rama in brief (I. 1. 1-6), that Brahma granted Valmiki the power to know Rama's hidden acts and thoughts (I. 2. 30-5), and that Valmiki composed the *Ramayana* when Sita's sons were being reared up in his *Asrama*. (I. 4. 3-4). But Kalidasa believed that Valmiki wrote it from prophetic prevision. (*Raghu* XV. 63 with Mallinatha's Comm.) Kalidasa believed that Ravana had numerous thighs (*Raghu* XII. 88), a fact nowhere mentioned in the *Ramayana*. Kalidasa refers to the story of Valmiki's grief giving birth to the *sloka*, a story found only in the present *Ramayana*. (I. 2. 18; *Raghu* XIV. 70), and refers to Valmiki himself as Adikari (*Raghu* XV. 41.) In the original *Ramayana*, Valmiki is not aware of the existence and history of Rama, of which he has to be told by Narada, while the present *Ramayana* makes him say to Sita that he knew her by his divine vision to be the daughter of Janaka, the wife of Rama, and the daughter-in-law of Dasaratha, and that she might dwell with him in exile as if she were his daughter. (VII. 49. 7-11.) Kalidasa goes one step further and makes him say that Dasaratha was his friend, and that she might regard him as her father (*Raghu* XIV. 72, 74.) Kalidasa refers to Rama's beheading a Sudramuni Sambuka for daring to perform penance (the right to which was reserved only to the twice-born), with a view to become a god. (*Raghu* XV. 50-1.) This story is found in *Uttara Ramayana*. (VII. 76. 2-5.) This must be an interpolated episode, because, in the time of the original *Ramayana*, Sudras also could be Rishis. The hermit boy, whom Dasaratha killed in ignorance, was a Sudra. (II. 63. 34, 36, and 48-51.) This latter episode must have formed part of the original *Ramayana*, because it was the direct cause of the manner of Dasaratha's death, *i.e.*, owing to grief of separation from his son. Kalidasa also refers to the father of the hermit boy as Muni and Vriddha (*Raghu* IX. 75. 76. 78 and 81), and Dasaratha himself is made to address him as Bhagavan (IX. 80), though he was only a Sudra. (IX. 76.) So Kalidasa came long after the *Ramayana* attained

its present form. Kalidasa, moreover, imitates and quotes Valmiki. (Cf. *Sak.* III. 4 with *Ram* IV. 28. 8; *Vik.* IV. 17. quotes the very words of *Ram* III. 64. 29-30.) In fact, the whole of *Vik.* IV. is an imitation of the similar situation in 'Aranya Kanda,' where Rama laments the loss of Sita. Now Hanuman is said to have studied in grammar Panini's *Sutras*, the Vritti, Katyayana's *Vartika*, Patanjali's *Mahabhashya* (150 B.C. *Smith*, p. 214), and Vyadi's *Sangraha*. (*Ram* VII. 36. 44-5.) The present *Ramayana* refers to the planets Mars and Mercury. (II. 41. 10; V. 15-22.) The *Maha-Vibhasha*, a commentary on Katyayaniputra's *Gnana-Prasthan* composed in the time of Kanishka, i.e., 100 A.D. (Watter's *Yuan Chwang* I. 270-7; Paramartha's *Life of Vasubandhu*; Takakusu's *Trans.*, p. 10 f; Nagarjuna's *Maha-pragna-paramita-sastra*; *Nanjio* 1169, Vol II.) and translated into Chinese by Kumarajiva in 402 A.D. (*Nanjio* 1485, Vol V.) says about the *Ramayana*, 'As a book called the *Ramayana*, there are twelve thousand *slokas*. They explain only two topics, namely, (1) Ravana carries off Sita by violence, and (2) Rama recovers Sita and returns.' (*Nanjio* Nos. 1263, 1264, Vol. 46) (*J.R.A.S.* 1907, pp. 99-103). But the present *Ramayana* contains twice that number of *slokas*. (I. 4. 2.) The *Ramayana* frequently calls Ravana 'Dasamukha' or 'Dasakantha.' Wima's coins show Siva as two-armed, while the coins of Kanishka and his successors (78 to 178 A.D.), (*Smith*, p. 278) show Siva as four-armed also. Down to 50 A.D. the representation of gods as multi-armed was unknown. After 50 A.D., it is frequent, and the number of arms increases with time. Since Kalidasa calls Kartavirya 'the thousand armed,' he is not earlier than 200 A.D. (*Raghu* VI. 38). The present *Ramayana* treats Rama as an incarnation of Vishnu. (I. 15. 31-2.) Even Amara (300 A.D.) did not know Rama as an incarnation. The present *Ramayana* associates the Sakas with Yavanas, apparently because they were ruling side by side at the time of its compilation. (*शकान् यवनमिति शितान्* I. 54. 21.) The Sakas ruled side by side with the Yavanas or Persians in Kathiawar, and Sindh only in 309-390 A.D. So the present *Ramayana* dates 350 A.D., and Kalidasa cannot, therefore, have lived before 400 A.D.

The Mahabharata:—Kalidasa refers to Balarama having gone on a pilgrimage to the Sarasvatitirtha to avoid the sight of the kinsmen fighting with one another in the Bharata War. (*Megha*. 51.) And since Janamejaya interrupts Vaisampayana when he is about to describe the final and decisive combat of Bhima with Duryodhana, that he may ask him to describe the holiness of the Sarasvati *tirtha*, simply because Balarama has just returned from his pilgrimage, the *Sarasvati Upakhya*, in which the episode occurs, is clearly interpolated. Kalidasa's यथामुनयोपि व्याहरन्ति राजा कालस्य कारणमिव (*Vik.* IV) directly quote कालो वा कारणं राष्ट्रः राजा वा कालकारणम् । इति तं संशयो माभूद्राजा कालस्य कारणम् ॥ (*Mahabharata*. Kunhakonam Ed. V. 132. 16) which is an interpolation, for

it occurs right in the midst of stanzas which refer to the four *Yugas*, which are not mentioned in any work before the *Manu Smṛiti* (250 A.D.) (*Maha* V. 132. 15, 17). In the Sarasvati *Upakhyana* we have a reference to Garga, the astronomer. It is said that on the banks of the Sarasvati, 'Vridha Garga,' purified by penance, obtained (apparently for the first time) knowledge of the march of time, the motions and aberrations of the planets, and good and evil omens. (IX. 38. 14-5.) Varaha Mihira quotes a *sloka* of 'Vridha Garga,' i.e., आसन् महासुनुनयः शान्तिं पृथ्वीयुधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ । पददिकपञ्चद्वियुतः शककालतस्य राज्यस्य. *Bṛihat Samhita* XIII. 2 and 3) which places Yudhisthira two thousand five hundred and twenty-six years before the Saka era. This Saka-Kala must be identical with the Saka era, since Kalhana quoting this *sloka* as his authority places the Bharata war six hundred and fifty-three years after Kali, i.e., in 2449 B.C. (*Rajatarangini* I. 51 and 55-6.) The era of 78 A.D. began to be called the Saka era only after its use by Rudradaman and his successors from 130 A.D. in their inscriptions. So Vridha Garga wrote after 130 A.D. and the present *Mahabharata* is not earlier than 150 A.D. This is confirmed by the facts that the *Garga Samhita* refers to Yavanas as great astronomers. (म्लेच्छादि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितं । ऋषिवत्तेषां पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्देवाविद्विजः ॥), that the *Mahabharata* elsewhere refers to the four *yugas* and the full list of planets (II. 11. 29), and that it refers to Ravana as Dasagrivah. (III. 276.40.) Moreover, since the Ramopakhyanam of the present *Mahabharata* treats Rama as an incarnation, it is later than 300 A.D., and, consequently, Kalidasa, who knew the *Mahabharata* substantially in its present form, is not earlier than 400 A.D. (III. 277- 5.)

The Puranas.—In *Megha* 52, the cloud is asked to go to the Ganges which falls from the Himalayas near Kanakhala, and, though the *Meghaduta* mentions all the places worth visiting by the cloud, it omits to mention Haridvara which is very near Kanakhala. The *Skanda Purana* refers to it as one of the most sacred *tirthas*. (सर्वतुल्यं गंगा त्रिपुरस्थानेषु दुर्लभा । हरिद्वारे प्रयागे च गंगा-सागरसङ्गमे ।) So in Kalidasa's time Haridvara had not become as prominent as in the time of the Puranas. The *sloka* of the *Vayu Purana* शब्दजातमशेषं धत्ते, etc., quoted by Mallinatha in the introduction to his commentary on the *Raghuvamsa*, seems to be a developed form of the idea contained in *Raghu* I. 1, and the same *Purana* elsewhere says, 'On full-moon the gods adore the planet for one night, and from the first day all of them with the Pitris and the Rishis drink one digit daily until the ambrosia is exhausted,' taking its idea apparently from *Raghu* V. 16. The *Padma Purana*, in relating the story of Rama and Sakuntala, follows Kalidasa literally wherever he differs from the epics. The *Pauranik* account of the story of Pururavas, according to the *Padma*, *Vishnu* (IV. 6), and the *Bhagavata* (IX. 14. 15-49) *Puranas*, is as

follows: Urvasi, through the curse of Mitra and Varuna, forfeited heaven, and became the consort of Pururavas on two conditions: (1) He should take charge of her two pet rams. (2) She should never see him unclad. Some Gandharvas entered their sleeping chamber, and carried off the rams. Pururavas starting naked in pursuit, they flashed lightning that Urvasi might see him nude, and Urvasi then disappeared. Seeing him long after, she promised to visit him once a year, and she gave birth to Ayus and other sons. The Gandharvas, pitying his yearning for permanent enjoyment of Urvasi, gave him a brazier charged with fire which he placed in a thicket, and which was thereupon transformed into the trees Asvatha and Sami. Pururavas took a branch of each and, generating fire, sacrificed, became a Gandharva, and enjoyed Urvasi. Kalidasa's account of the story is different. Pururavas rescued Urvasi and her friend Chitrlekha from the demon Kesi, whom he destroyed with the shaft of Vayu. Then at the acting of Lakshmi Svayamvara, Urvasi, acting with Menaka and Rambha, incurred Bharata's curse, and coming down on earth became the bride of Pururavas. Then in a love-quarrel she separated from her husband, and, wandering in the Kumaravana on the Gandhamadana mountain, she was transformed into a vine; Pururavas separated from her, wanders in distraction of mind. Urvasi was then restored to Pururavas and bore him Ayus and other sons. The *Matsya* XXIV. follows this account in all its details, instead of the *Pauranik* account. In referring to the theft of Sagara's sacrificial horse, Kalidasa says Kapila himself stole it (*Raghu* III, 50; XIII. 3), while the *Puranas* say Indra stole it, and from its straying near Kapila, Sagara's sons mistook him for the thief, and this is the modern view. (*Bhagavata* IX. 8. 8 and 10.) Kalidasa's style is simpler in general than that of the *Puranas*, though the latter, no doubt, embody very old compositions. Both Kalidasa and the *Puranas* regard Rama as an *avatara*. (*Raghu* XI. 85; *Bhag.* IX. 10. 1 and 2.) But, while the *Puranas* hold Parasurama also to be an incarnation of Vishnu (*Bhag.* IX. 15. 13-4; IX, 16. 27), Kalidasa nowhere indicates that he regarded Parasurama as an incarnation, which becomes significant when we consider that he knew the Rama, Krishna, Vamana, and Varaha incarnations. In the episode of Rama's encounter with Parasurama, the latter is himself made to say that he knew Rama to be 'the Ancient One' and the mortal abode of Vishnu, quite unconscious of the fact that he himself was likewise an incarnation. (*Raghu* XI. 85.) Both here and elsewhere (XI. 89) Parasurama is referred to only as a Rishi. The *Pauranik* story of the Vaishnava element of Parasurama passing over to Rama at the encounter seems to have been based on a misunderstanding of Kalidasa's metaphorical statement तावुमावपि परस्परस्थितौ बर्धमानपरिहानन्तब्रह्मौ (XI. 82), to have been the

literal truth. So Kalidasa lived before the *Puranas* were compiled. Quotations from the *Puranas* begin to appear in land grants only from 475 A.D. (*Padma* VI. 33. 17 and 26-30; III. 24. 10; *Bhaviṣya* IV. 164. 22, 34, 38 and 39; *Brahma* 155. 6-7; पुराणवचनानि लिख्यन्ते or भवन्ति चात्र पौराणिकाः श्लोकाः. *Epi. Ind.* III, p. 63; IV, pp. 109, 117; VIII, p. 156; *J.R.A.S.* 1912, pp. 254-5). The *Puranas* describe the Guptas as rulers only of the territories along the Ganges, Prayaga, Saketa and the Magadhas. (*Pargiter*, p. 73.) This description can apply to the Guptas only in the period before Samudragupta's conquest (319 to 340 A.D.), or after their decline owing to the invasion of the Huns in 500 A.D. The *Puranik* accounts end with a note of pessimism (*Pargiter*, p. 74), and indicate anarchy and foreign raids as the feature of their times. After 600 A.D. and before 500 A.D., Hindu monarchies were flourishing. The *Puranas* give no details as to the reign periods of the Guptas, because apparently they were still ruling, as we know they did, down to 550 A.D., since Jināsena, who wrote in Saka 750 = 783 A.D., says the Guptas ruled two hundred and thirty-one years, i.e., down to $231 + 319 = 550$ A.D. (गुप्तानां च शतद्वयं । एकद्विंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्विद्वाहृतं. *Harivamsa* 60. 487). The *Puranas* mention the Huns as the last rulers of India (*Pargiter*, p. 72), but omit to mention their defeat in 528 A.D. And 'Mlecchas destitute of Vedic holiness will enjoy the Sindhu's bank; the Chandrabhaga, Kaunti, and the Kasmira realm' (*Pargiter*, p. 74) no doubt refers to the Huns before 528 A.D. Thus the *Puranas* must have been compiled between 500 and 528 A.D. This is confirmed by the fact that the last date of the *Puranas* from Mahapadma ($321 + 12 = 333$ B.C.) 'They will be kings in succession to Mahapadma for twelve years. A Brahman Kautilya will uproot them all; and, after they have enjoyed the earth one hundred years, it will pass to the Mauryas' (*Pargiter*, p. 69; *Smith*, p. 196), to the close of the Post-Andhra dynasties is eight hundred and thirty-six years, i.e., $836 - 332 = 504$ A.D. (प्रमाणं वै तथा वक्तुं महापद्मोत्तरं च यत् । अन्तरं च्युताग्यष्टौषट्तिशतसु समाः स्युताः ॥ एतत् कालान्तरं भाव्या अन्धान्तायाः प्रकीर्तिताः । (*Pargiter*, p. 58 and 58. n). The Great Bear which remains in conjunction with each *nakshatra* in turn for one hundred years (*Pargiter*, p. 75) is said to have moved over $27 - 24 = 3$ *nakshatras* from the close of the Andhras to the close of the Post-Andhras (अन्धान्ते तु चतुर्विंशे भविष्यन्ति शतं समा. *Pargiter*, p. 61; सप्तविंशैः शतैर्भव्यैः अन्धान्तेन च वाः पुनः *Pargiter*, p. 59). Since the twenty-second year of Vasisthaputra Pulmāyī falls before 130 A.D., the close of the Andhras cannot be later than $130 + (28 - 22) + 7 + 3 + 29 + 6 + 10 + 7 = 198$ A.D., even assigning to them the longest of their reign periods. ('King Gaṇṭhāmaputra will be king next twenty-one years. His son Puloma will reign twenty-eight years. Sivasri Puloma will be king seven years. His son Siva Skandha Satakarni will be king three years. Yagnasri

Satakarnika will reign twenty-nine years. After him Vijaya will be king six years. His son Chandasri Satakarni will reign ten years. Another of them Pulomavi will reign seven years. These thirty Andhra kings will enjoy the earth four hundred and fifty-six years.' *Pargiter*, pp. 71-2.) Since the Saptarshi cycle began in 3076 B.C., the Saptarshi century within which this date 198 A.D. would fall, is the 33rd, i.e., 3200—3075=125 A.D. to 3300—3075=225 A.D. So the Saptarshi century of the close of the Post-Andhras would be (125 to 225) + 300=425 to 525 A.D. This confirms the date we have already arrived at for the compilation of the *Puranas*, i.e., 504 A.D. Bana (600—650 A.D.) mentions the *Vayupurana* (वयुर्मानप्रोक्तं पुराणं. *Harshacharita*, *Nirnayasagara* Ed., p. 86, with Commentary). Thus the date of Kalidasa cannot be later than 450 A.D.

The Smritis.—In the *Sakuntala* (VI) the minister writes to Dushyanta that a merchant has died without issue and, therefore, his property goes to the king. The king inquires and learns that one of his wives was pregnant, and thereupon orders that the child in the womb is the heir to the property, and causes it to be proclaimed that the king will supply the place of all departed relatives to his people, and, therefore, no inquiry need hereafter be made, if there are issue or not. This episode is wanting in the *Sakuntalopakhyaṇa*, of the *Mahabharata*, and there were no materials available to Kalidasa for him to determine the period of Dushyanta or the law of his age. So Kalidasa is here indicating the law of his own time. The law was that the property of a man who dies issueless (male or female, because अपत्य and गर्भ apply to either, and the king does not merely stay forfeiture till it be ascertained whether a male child will be born, but says at once that the child in the womb is entitled to the property) was forfeit to the State, whether his wives were pregnant or not. For, if the law was different in case his wife was pregnant, the minister need not have sent the case to the king for his opinion or command, and, might have administered the law himself. Moreover, the king is obviously exercising his prerogative of mercy when he allows the child in the womb the right to the property, as the necessity for a proclamation in regard to future cases indicates. All Smritis are said to be of equal authority, and yet they vary in important details. So the Smritis must have been authoritative for different periods and indicate the growth of legal principles, the gradual modification of the severity of early law. The *Manu Smṛiti* says, 'Of him who leaves no child, the father shall take the inheritance, and then the brothers' (IX, 185), and gave the widow only the option to raise issue by *Niyoga*, but no rights of inheritance. On the other hand, *Yajnyavalkya* says, 'Of a person who dies without a son, the wife, the daughters, the parents, the brothers, their son, the person born in the same

gotra, the relation, the disciple, the fellow-disciple, these shall each of them succeed in the order mentioned in case of the non-existence of the preceding persons. This is the law in all the castes.' (II. 138-9.) So Kalidasa came after Manu whose law he follows, and before Yajnyavalkya who allows the widow to inherit. Kalidasa also cites Manu as his authority for the statement that a king must protect all castes and orders (*Raghu* XIV, 67), and otherwise also indicates that he knew the Manu Smriti (cf. *Vik.* V. 18 and *Raghu* XI. 1 with *Manu* VII. 8; *Megha* 114 with चक्रवर्त्यविवर्तते दुःखानि च सुखानि च *Manu*; स भवन्त न नाम यप्रदन् पूर्वकमिदमाह *Sak.* V. with *Manu* II. 127; *Raghu* XV. 53 with राजभिः कृतदण्डास्तु कृत्वा पापानि मानवाः । निर्मलाः स्वर्गमायान्ति सन्तः सुकृतिनो यथा *Manu*). The *Manu Smriti* not only denies the Andhras the position of Kshatriyas, but it gives them a low status in society, describing them as a tribe formed by the intermarriage of Vaidehika men and Karavara women, and says that they stayed outside the village, and for their occupation slaughtered wild animals. (X. 36, 48.) It also describes the Licchivis as Vratyas or outcastes. (X. 22.) All the other Smritis, though they mention other mixed castes and outcastes, do not refer to the Andhras or the Licchivis. The *Manu Smriti* was intended to lay down the law and status of the mixed castes also. (I. 2.) So in the time of the Manu Smriti alone, the Andhras and the Licchivis occupied a low status in society. Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus, the Greek king of Bactria, at the court of Chandragupta Maurya (321-297 B.C.), says the Andhras possessed a military force second only to that of Chandragupta. (Smith, p. 206.) They are mentioned in Asoka's edicts. (256 B.C., Smith, p. 207.) The Andhras became extinct before 198 A.D., and ruled four hundred and fifty-six years, i.e., from 259 B.C. to 198 A.D. So Manu's reference to them as a low caste must date after 198 A.D. Again, Samudragupta habitually described himself with pride as the son of the daughter of the Licchivis. (Smith, p. 280.) So the Licchivis must have been a powerful clan for at least two generations before the rise to power of Chandragupta I (319 A.D.) Thus Manu's reference to the Andhras and the Licchivis as a low caste and Vratyas respectively places the Smriti between 200 and 300 A.D., i.e., in circa 250 A.D. chapters I and II of *Yajnyavalkya Smriti* are found embodied in the *Agni-Purana*, chapters 163, 265 and 253-7, and in the *Garuda-Purana* chapters 1 to 13. So the Smriti cannot date later than 500 A.D. Thus Kalidasa lived between 300 and 450 A.D.

Kamandaka.—Kautilya mentions the benefits of hunting as a sport in the following terms : मृगयायांतु श्रेयसि च तेन दस्त्वैव दनाशश्च लेखिरे च काये लक्षपरिचयः कोपस्थाने हितेषु च मृगाणां चित्तज्ञानमनित्ययानं चेति (*Arthashastra* VIII. 3, p. 327). Kalidasa repeats these arguments in defence of hunting in almost the very words of Kautilya. (*Sak.* II. 5; *Raghu* IX. 49.) Kamandaka criticises these arguments

and says hunting is sinful and murderous. (जितश्रमत्वं व्यायाम आममन्दकक्षयः । चलस्थिरेषु लक्ष्येषु बाणसिद्धिरनुत्तमा ॥ गृगयायां गुणानेतानन्ये प्राहुर्नतद् क्षमं । दंषा प्राणहराः प्रायस्तस्मात् तत् परिवर्जयेद् ॥. *Nitisara*. Triv., Skt., Series Ed., p. 216.) Kamandaka's use of the words जितश्रमत्वं and व्यायाम (=विनोद) which are found only in the quotations from Kalidasa, and the fact that if Kalidasa had come after Kamandaka, he would have answered Kamandaka's criticism, as he answers Bhamaha's criticism in connection with sending messages through a cloud, but has not, in fact, done so, suggests that Kamandaka is criticising both Kautilya and Kalidasa. This is confirmed by the fact that Kamandaka's *sloka* धर्मार्थं श्रृणुवित्तरस्य श्रृणुत्वमपि शोभते । कुरेः पीतावशेषस्य कृष्णपक्षेविशेषेति is a mere paraphrase of *Raghu* V. 16. The Hindus who retired to the island of Bali, owing to the predominance of Buddhism in Java, took with them Kamandaka's *Nitisara*. When Fahian visited Java in 414 A.D., he still found it mainly Hindu. If we grant that about a century elapsed for Buddhism to spread over Java, Kamandaka dates 500 A.D., and Kalidasa whom he criticises about 450 A.D.

Vatsyayana.—Kalidasa quotes the very words of Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*. (Cf. मित्रकार्यमपदिश्य अन्यत्र श्लोके VI. 3. 34 with *Raghu* XIX. 31; भोगेषु अनुत्प्रेकः परिजने दाक्षिण्यम् I. IV. 1. 39-40 with *Sak.* IV. 18.) Vatsyayana, also called Pakshilasvamin, is the author of the *Nyaya Bhashya* also, a commentary on Gautama's *Nyaya Sutra*s. In the *Kamasutra*, Vatsyayana refers to Kuntala Satakarni of the Satavahana family. (कर्तार्या कृन्तलः शातकर्णिः शातवाहनः महादेवी मलयवती जघान. II. 7. 28.) This Kuntala Satakarni is the 13th Andhra of the Puranas. Andhras 13th to 18th ruled altogether for $8+1+36+25+5+5=80$ years. (Smith, p. 216.) Mr. Smith dates the close of the dynasty in 225 A.D., and places Purikasena the 19th king's accession in 59 A.D. Since the dynasty really became extinct in or before 198 A.D., Purikasena's accession is not later than $59+198-225=32$ A.D. So Kuntala Satakarni ruled from $80-31=49$ B.C. to $49-8=41$ B.C. (Smith table facing p. 218.) Vatsyayana, therefore, lived after 45 B.C. The *Nyaya Sutra*s quote the *Lankavatara Sutra* of the Yogachara Buddhists, the *Madhyamika Sutra* of Nagarjuna, and the *Sataka* of his contemporary and disciple Aryadeva. (Cf. *Nyaya-Sutra*s IV. 2. 26, and III. 2. 11 with *Lankavatara Sutra*, chs. 2 and 6; *Nyaya Sutra*s II. 1. 19, 37 and 39, IV. 1. 39, 68, and IV. 2. 32 with *Madhyamika Sutra*, chs. 1, 2 and 7; *Nyaya Sutra* IV. 1. 48 with Aryadeva's *Sataka*.) Nagarjuna's life and work were translated by Kumarajiva in 405 A.D., and, being the founder of the Madhyamika School, he lived before Vasubandhu. (340-420 A.D.) Taranatha speaks of Nagarjuna as coming after Asvaghosha, who attended Kanishka's Buddhist council in 100 A.D. The Chinese record *Bunyo-Nanjio*, 1340, places Nagarjuna two generations after Asvaghosha,

i.e., in 150 A.D. Nagarjuna himself mentions Kanishka and his contemporaries, Vasumitra and Asvaghosha. (Watter's *Yuan Chwang* II, p. 204.) His greatest work, the *Maha-pragna-paramita-Sutra-Vyakhya-Sastra*, is a commentary on Katyayaniputra's *Maha-pragna-paramita-Sutra* composed in Kanishka's Buddhist council. (100 A.D., Smith, p. 269.) Hiuen Tshang says that Nagarjuna was the contemporary of a Santaka Satavahana, that they died together miraculously, and that another Satavahana ruled after their death. (Watters, II, p. 207.) So Nagarjuna died before the accession of the last Andhra, i.e., 198-7 = 191 A.D. 'Santaka' is probably identical with the penultimate Andhra 'Chandasri.' Thus Nagarjuna and Aryadeva lived in circa 150-190 A.D. Since the *Lankavatara Sutra* belongs to the Yogachara school, it is not earlier than 250 A.D., and the *Nyaya Sutras* and Vatsyayana's *Nyaya Bhashya* are, therefore, not earlier than 300 and 350 A.D. On the other hand, Vatsyayana cannot be later than 350 A.D., since he does not in his commentary on I. 1. 37 controvert or even refer to Vasubandhu's theory of syllogism, which was so antagonistic to that of Akshapada (= Gautama.) Vatsyayana, moreover, is criticised by Dingnaga in connection with the explanation of Sutra I. 1. 14. (न सुखादिप्रमेयं वा मनो वास्तीन्द्रियान्तरं । अनिषादुपात्तिं चेदन्वेन्द्रियरतं कृथा ॥ *Pramana Samuechaya*, ch. 1), and Vachaspathimishra (who wrote his *Nyaya Suchinibandha* in 841 A.D.), says in his *Nyaya-Vartika-Tatparya-Tika* that Udyotakara composed his *Nyaya Vartika*, a commentary on Pakshilasvamin's *Nyaya Bhashya*, to clear away the erroneous interpretation of Dingnaga and others (अथ भगवताक्षपादेन निःश्रेयसहेतौ शास्त्रे प्रणीते, व्युत्पादितेच भगवता पक्षिलस्वामिना, किमपरमवशिष्यते यदर्थं वार्तिकारम्भ इति शंकां निराचिकीर्णुः सूत्रकारोक्तप्रयोजनानुवादपूर्वकं वार्तिकारम्भप्रयोजनं दर्शयति 'यदक्षपादः' इति । यद्यपि भाष्यकृता कृतव्युत्पादनमेतत्तथापि दिङ्नागप्रभृतिभिरवीचीनैः कुहेतुसंतमसमुत्पापनेनाच्छादितं शास्त्रं न तत्त्वनिर्णयाय पर्याप्तमित्युच्यते तत्र स्वनिबन्धोद्योतेन तदपनीयतश्चित प्रयोजनवानयमारम्भः ।) Dingnaga, here referred to as a 'late writer' (अवीचीन), lived in 400 to 450 A.D. So Vatsyayana lived in 350 A.D., and this view is confirmed by his knowledge of planets, and *lagnas* which are based on *rasis* (*Kama Sutra* III. 1. 7.), which came to be known in India only after 150 A.D. Thus Kalidasa, who quotes Vatsyayana, could not have lived before 400 A.D.

(To be continued.)

WHERE RELIGIONS MEET—AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE SACRED PLACES OF INDIA

A Paper read before the Mythic Society

BY THE REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER

THE following lecture was illustrated by forty lantern slides made from photographs taken by the lecturer on visits made to the various places referred to. These pictures were intended to show the sacred places in India, where the various faiths have been brought into close relation with each other. The photographs were taken when the lecturer had no thought of preparing a lecture on the subject, so that in some cases the detailed illustrations were not available.

No attempt is made in the following pages to deal with the subject from a philosophical or abstract point of view. A quotation from the writings of V. Kelkar may be given as showing the attitude of the educated Hindu toward the question of doctrine and worship.

"It is vain for man to be proud of any particular manifestation and to exclude the rest from cognisance. All worship, therefore, should be tolerated. Any deity may continue to be worshipped, provided the worshipper's conception becomes widened. It is neither proper nor necessary to replace one deity by another, because it is not a matter of importance whether the absolute and infinite conception is called Siva, Vishnu, Durga, or Buddha. All these gods or manifestations are but starting-points. To disturb the faith of a man in an finite god is foolish, as long as his mind is not fit to accept the higher." On the other hand, as a writer on *Indian Theism* recently said, "The absence from the religion of India of the intolerance, and what we may almost call the monotheistic arrogance, of the Hebrew prophets, is due more than anything else to the pantheistic root of so much of the thought of India and its consequent half-heartedness in affirming divine unity The Indian pantheistic mind has always been too ready to extend an easy tolerance to every form of faith, and to believe that every god is but one form or another of the nameless One."—(Macnicol in *Indian Theism*.)

India is pre-eminently the land of toleration so far as religious beliefs are concerned, and there has always been a readiness on the part of Indian religious leaders to adopt or even absorb elements from other religions. The

lecturer makes no attempt to discuss the effects of this on the development of Indian religious life, but seeks only to set forth a number of instances, of most of which he has personal knowledge.

Buddhism and Hinduism

The relation of Buddhism to the other ancient religions of India is one of great interest, but as it is not intended to discuss the subject from a philosophical standpoint but merely to illustrate by a number of instances to be found in various parts of India, it will be sufficient to say that Buddhism appears to have existed alongside Brahmanism on a basis of mutual toleration for a considerable period of years, and that from the period of Asoka,—who showed his intention of establishing the new faith at the expense of the older one, the two religions became engaged in a conflict which varied in intensity over many centuries. It is well known that Buddha was given a place of honour in the Hindu pantheon, being known as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, a wise move on the part of the followers of the older religion which did much to reconcile the two religions. The places selected to illustrate the mutual toleration, which appears to have existed between Buddhism and other faiths, are Bodh Gaya, Ellora and Bādāmi Caves, and Srīngēri, a famous *math* in the Mysore State.

Bodh Gaya

There are few spots in the whole of India so deeply revered as the place where the great teacher Buddha received enlightenment on the great truths of the universe. Seven miles from the town of Gaya is to be found the noble structure which is to the Buddhists of Asia, their Gethsemane, Bethlehem and Calvary: it is their Mecca and Medina. For, it is here where their blessed master received that new light, which he believed was to bring salvation to a sorrow-stricken world. No one can fail to be impressed by the sacred place which one writer declares to be "the most sacred rood of ground upon the surface of the earth." "There is no such holy place in all the universe as that which is surrounded by the rails of Bodh Gaya, and the merit which a man may acquire by walking round is greater than that which he may lay up for himself anywhere else on earth. It is even more holy than the holy tract that surrounds the cathedral at Lhasa."—(Landon.) Though many changes have been made in the sacred building, notably by the restoration by Cunningham in 1880-1, at a cost of two lakhs of rupees, it still retains its premier position in the minds of the Buddhists.

The following facts about the temple at the present time, therefore, appear all the more striking: It is said that after the completion of the alterations, a neighbouring monastery appropriated the temple for its Vaishnavite followers and consecrated the image by applying to it the *tilak* or fronta

marks of Vishnu, and set both government and Buddhists at defiance. Whatever may be the historic origin of the present condition of things, it is a fact that the *mahant* of this most sacred Buddhist shrine is a Brahmin, and the image of Buddha, now a mass of gold with the contributions of gold leaf made by the Buddhist followers from all parts of the world, has the marks of Vishnu on the forehead. The gifts of these Buddhist devotees go into the coffers of a man of a different faith. "The present *mahant* has in his possession a curious document, which oddly emphasises the strangeness of his position ; for he, a Hindu, bases his claim to the guardianship of the Buddhist shrine, now under the control of a Christian Government, upon a grant made to his ancestor by a Muhammadan emperor."—(Landon.) It may also be pointed out that in close proximity to the image is a great stone *lingam*, the emblem of the Saivites. There is probably no more interesting example in the whole of India, in which the various religions have become associated with one sacred spot.

Ellora and Badami Caves

These famous caves are full of interest from the point of view of the archæologist, or the student of Indian religions ; for they present one of the most striking aspect of Indian architecture to be found. There is still much to be discovered in connection with these wonderful structures, and various theories have been put forward only to give place to others. The most popular explanation of the construction of the series of caves, at Ellora, which are of Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain origin, is, that these caves were built, or at least excavated from the solid rock, through a course of many centuries. The first series, clearly Buddhist, were credited to the period when the followers of Buddha were supreme in India ; the second belong to a later period when the Brahmanical power was at its height, while the third was excavated in the days of the Jains. The period covered was supposed to be about 600 A.D. to 900 A.D. This theory was one that long held the field, and has still some adherents, but Fergusson altogether differs from this theory, and it is his point of view that makes these caves of the greatest interest to the subject in hand. "The result of the inscriptions collected during the past thirty years," he writes, "and of the surveys made, leads us to compress our history of the western caves within narrower limits than at one time seemed necessary. The caves in the south of the Bijāpūr District seem all to be comprised between the years 500 and 750 A.D., and these at Ellora being synchronous must also, with the exception of the Jaina caves, be limited to the same period, with probably a slight extension either way." While it is not possible in this Paper to work out all his arguments, we may refer to the fact that it was due to the discovery of an

inscription on No. 3 cave at Bādāmi, that enabled him to come to these conclusions. "The inscription on the No. 3 cave at Bādāmi is dated in the twelfth year of the reign of a well known king Kirtivārman I, in the five hundredth year after the inauguration of the Śaka king. The date is, therefore, A.D. 578. Admitting which, I think, its architecture renders nearly certain, that it is the earliest of the three, still they are so like each other, that the latest may be assumed to have been excavated within the limits of the next century, say, 575-680 A.D. Instead, therefore, of the sequence formerly adopted, we are forced to fall back on that marvellous picture of religious toleration described by the Chinese pilgrim, as exhibited at Allahabad in the year A.D. 643. One of the most interesting books we have preserved to us of the old religious life and customs of India is to be found in the accounts given by Hiouen Thsang, and his description of several religious assemblies he attended are of special interest in connection with this subject. During his stay in Kanouj and Nalanda, he had many disputes with learned Brahmins belonging to various philosophical schools. He gives us some curious accounts of conferences, where the partisans of various religions met and discussed their different doctrines. Twenty-one tributary kings, attended by their most learned Brahmin and Buddhist teachers, were present at one of these conferences, but though, as a rule, these conferences were friendly, there were occasions when the toleration was not marked. On one occasion the ruling king built a huge tower, and this was set on fire by the Brahmins, who had been defeated in their arguments with the Buddhists, and who later confessed their sins. For this the chief king punished the conspirators and banished five hundred Brahmins beyond the frontiers of India. But the assembly referred to by Fergusson was marked by no such intolerance. It was held at Prayag, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. Five hundred thousand monks and laymen were present, and the festivities lasted ten weeks. It is a curious illustration of the religious condition of northern India, at that time, to find on the first day the installation of the statue of Buddha; on the second, that of the image of the sun; and on the third, that of an image of Ishvara; and similarly we read that the king lavished his gifts on the Brahmins and the different heretics as well as the Buddhist monks. It is not at all unlikely that the caves at Ellora and Bādāmi witnessed huge gatherings of men and women of the various religions, who readily offered their devotions at the shrines of all, irrespective of the presiding deity of the temple. Each man followed his wishes of the moment, and besought the favours of the Eternal either through Buddha, Vishnu, Siva, or any other deity available. The war of the sects does not appear to have begun at this early stage, when religious toleration appears to have been the rule rather than the exception.

Sringeri—Mysore State

There is probably no place more sacred to the followers of Hinduism in South India than the little village of Srīngēri situated in the very western extremity of the Mysore State, the abode of the descendant of the great Śankarāchārya. It is sufficient to point out that the *guru* of this *math* enjoys privilege peculiar to himself, the right to be carried throughout the country in an *addi*-palanquin, that is, with his palanquin cross-ways. Wherever he goes, he enjoys the marks of greatest respect from high and low, and his abode in Srīngēri is the "holy of holies" to his followers. It is, therefore, of especial interest to note that in this centre so sacred to Hindus, there are evidences of a time when Buddhism was allowed to lift up its head without fear of persecution. It is believed that the spot on which the sacred *math* now stands was once the site of a great monastery. When Śankarāchārya visited the place, he entered into discussions with the resident Buddhist priests, and is generally credited with having completely defeated them in argument, until the whole community passed over to his side. Whatever truth there may be in this legend, it is a fact that inside the main temple there are several pillars of distinctly Buddhist origin, while in a neighbouring village, the Buddhist image, which is said to have been removed from the old monastery, is still worshipped by the devotees of the Srīngēri Swāmi. It is curious to find such striking toleration in a *math*, which is pre-eminently dedicated to the worship of a Hindu deity. Doubtless many other instances of the close association of Buddhism and other Indian religions might be cited, but these will serve to illustrate this aspect of the subject.

Toleration in Hindu Sects

The subject of eclecticism in Hinduism is one of the greatest interest and a subject on which a great deal of research work requires to be done. The distinctions in the various sects are not so marked, nor do they claim our attention, so much as those between the main religions of India, the Buddhists, Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians, but some reference needs to be made to them. In the *Gazetteer of India* the following statement is made: "In considering the practical effects of sectarianism on modern Hinduism, it may be said that, while the lines of cleavage between the manifold sects are clearly marked, it would be an error to suppose that Hinduism is divided into so many water-tight compartments, between which no communion is possible. Such a result would be quite alien to the eclectic spirit of the system. There may be a certain amount of hostility felt by the leaders and inner circle of believers against the adherents of a rival sect, but beyond these lies the great mass of the people, who are, as a rule, ignorant to which sect they belong. The majority of high caste Hindus in north India worship all the gods of the

Hindu pantheon, each man according to his fancy, paying special respect to Siva, or to one of his consorts, or to Vishṇu in one or other of his incarnations. The Brahman will keep in his private chapel the Sālagrāma, or ammonite, representing Vishnu as well as the phallic emblem of Siva. At the great places of pilgrimage, he will worship the sectarian gods as he meets their images in the tour round the holy site; he will attend the popular celebrations in honour of either god, such as Durga pūja, or the miracle play of Rāma. The continuity of religious life is seen in all its sacred places. Their sanctity has come down from a time probably antecedent to the rise of the historical religions, and each creed in succession has consecrated some sacred site to the needs of its culture."

Benares and Muttra used to be centres of Buddhism and Jainism, while to-day thousands of worshippers of Siva and Vishṇu now look upon them as their chief holy places. In many cases we find that the later religious sect erects its temple on the very spot where the old one was built and consecrated. Some of the more modern have accepted the old sacred places and made them their own. Sakhi Sarwar, at the foot of the Suliman Range, is a case in point. Here Hindus perform their rites and ablutions, Sikhs venerate a shrine of Nanak, and Mussalman the tomb of a Muḥammadan saint.

The Bādāmi caves, Pushkar, Tanjore and Amritsar may be selected as typical of the toleration shown among the various Hindu sects. Reference has already been made to the Ellora caves in connection with the section dealing with Buddhism and Hinduism, but this part of the subject may be illustrated by the Dasa Avatara Cave, where we find the sculptures about equally divided between Saiva and Vaishṇava subjects, while the shrines contain *lingams* of Siva. In two of the Bādāmi caves, while the larger figures are mainly Vaishṇava, the others are largely Siva and the Vēdis, and altars in the middle of both shrines used to support the emblem of Siva. It is almost impossible to distinguish the various gods, for at a later date the same artistic forms were used in all three religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Pushkar presents an interesting instance of adaptation in Hindu sects. Pushkar is a famous *tirth* eight miles from Ajmere, one of the most holy lakes in India. In the traditions and rites connected with it, we can see different stages of religion and worship fossilised. "We see first of all the original inhabitants with their tree and serpent worship. Then came the Gajars, a pastoral tribe, with a goddess Gaitri, who seem to have been the first, as they are still the most devout believers in the efficacy of Pushkar. . . . Lastly, came the Saivas. They found the legends of Brahma too deeply rooted to be ignored or displaced; so they recast the story of the Gajars. They identified some of the most popular objects of worship in

Pushkar and the neighbourhood with Siva. The cell of the holy man called Atmat had been the object of superstitious reverence. He was represented as a servant of Siva. The name of Atantēshwar, Lord of Atmat, was given to Siva. A handsome Saivite temple is now erected over the hermit's cell. It will be seen that the whole object of the Saivas was to assimilate, not to eradicate, ancient usages." To-day thousands of devotees make their way to the sacred lake of Pushkar, but it is doubtful if many of them have the slightest idea of the history of the various temples, and their previous association with other gods. Even if they knew, it would not interfere with their devotion or faith, so tolerant or indifferent does the ordinary Hindu appear to be, to the peculiarities of his declared faith.

Tanjore

The temple of Tanjore has many features of interest, notably the great *gōpuram* with its huge cylindrical ball on the top. From the point of view of the present subject, the feature of importance is the way in which the various religious sects are represented in a temple, which is primarily devoted to the worship of the god Siva. The great temple is dedicated to the form of Siva known as Brihatisvara, a great *lingam*, and everything in the inner court-yard belongs to the Saiva cult. The great Nandi porch and the Subramanya temple are undoubtedly devoted to the Saiva cult. The latter is one of the choicest little structures to be found in any of the south Indian temples. But when we examine the figures on the outer gateway on the small *gopurams* which form a part of the entrance, buildings of undoubtedly later date than the main structure, we find that the mythological representations have become mixed, Vaishnavite ideas now being very prevalent.

A brief reference may be made to the famous temple of the Sikhs, the Golden Temple at Amritsar. It is well known that the Sikh religion was opposed to the worship of idols and the making of pilgrimages to sacred shrines, but it is stated on good authority that, "idols have found their way not only into the houses of the people but into Sikh temples." Even the main temple, the Golden Temple at Amritsar, was made the home of Hindu idols, but within recent years the reforming spirit of the Sikh leaders has led to the removal of these. Many make pilgrimages though they are forbidden by their laws, but they seek to get out of the difficulty by saying that they are going to see the idols, not to worship them. There is a striking tolerance of aspects of the religion of others, which are in direct opposition to their own tenets. In Jainism the same influences are at work, as for many centuries there has been a clear drift of the Jain population into Hinduism. Hindu thought and practice have continuously found their way into Jain temples and houses. In Swētāmbara temples, we are told by one

authority, the ministrants to-day are usually Hindus, while nearly all the Jains call on Brahmans to assist them in their domestic ceremonies. As in the section dealing with the cases of close relation between Buddhist and Hindu sacred places, so in connection with this section, the instances might be multiplied a hundredfold. Those selected will serve to point to several interesting features of the tolerance frequently to be found between the Hindus sects.

Muhammadanism and Indian Faiths

Muhammadanism has often been called the most intolerant of religions, and there is not a little in her history that gives support to this view. Yet there are many places in India where followers of other faiths join at the same shrines and offer their devotions to the same deity. While it is true that Muhammadanism is most intolerant of other faiths in many parts, and that this intolerance has frequently led to serious outbreaks, it is also true that in some parts the members of the opposing faiths find a common ground of worship. It may be generally said that the tolerance is due to the fact that the Muhammadans have been influenced by the Hindu environment. "If it has gained some conquests," says W. Crooke in the *Gazetteer*, "from Hinduism, it has borrowed from it many of those practices which distinguish it from the original faith of Arabia. By degrees the fervid enthusiasms of the early raiders was softened down, the two religions learned to live side by side; and if the Muhammadan of later days could never conceal his contempt for the faith of his 'pagan' neighbours, he came to understand that it could not be destroyed by persecution. From the Hindus, Muhammadanism derived much of its demonology, the belief in witchcraft, the veneration of departed *pirs* or saints. The village Mussalman of the present day employs the Hindu astrologer to fix the lucky day for the marriage, and will pray to the village god to grant a son or wife." An interesting case of the fusion of Islam and Animism may be quoted before giving illustrations of the relations between this faith and the more advanced Indian faiths. Among the Pachpiriyas of Bengal and the United Provinces, five saints or deities are worshipped, the leader being supposed to be one Ghazi, the nephew of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who fell a martyr to the faith in Oudh in 1054 A.D. This saint, with his four fellow martyrs, has thus become the presiding deity of a caste of Hindu animists. Five clay mounds in the corner of the house, or under the holy village tree form a shrine of this quintette of divinities, and the officiant is always a member of one of the lowest castes.

The places selected to illustrate this section are the tomb of the saint at Ajmere, and Fatchpur Sikri, three *maths* situated at Sringeri, in the Mysore State, the Bababudan Hills, and at Tirupparamkunrum. As there are

several places in which the architecture is closely related with that of other faiths, a brief reference will be made to interesting buildings in Ajmere and Delhi.

Tomb at Ajmere

Without doubt the places most sacred to the Muhammadans of this country are the shrines in which rest the remains of their great saints, and the fact that many of them become places of pilgrimage to thousands of Hindus is not surprising in view of the prevailing spirit of reverence for the resting places of the men who have earned a name for sanctity. The tomb of Saint Kwaja, at Ajmere, is one of the most sacred places in the north of India, and in some respects is quite unique. The Emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage to his tomb, and to the present time all the merchants of the Dargah Bazaar, which adjoins the tomb of the saint, daily lay their keys on the steps of the shrine before they open their shops. The custody of the shrine is in the hands of the eldest lineal descendant of the holy man, and all descendants of the Kwaja still enjoy such consideration throughout India that the Nizam of Hyderabad will not sit in their presence, and even the Hindu Maharajas of Jaipur, Gwalior, and Jodhpur place them on the same seat with themselves. The Sindhia family, while masters of Ajmere, were munificent benefactors to its shrine. Every day among the devotees before the shrine may be seen Jats, Mussalmans, Mahrattas, and Rajputs, many of them having made the journey of hundreds of miles to place their offering, or to seek blessings from the shrine of one belonging to an entirely different faith.

The tomb at Fatehpur Sikri also enjoys great repute among the members of many faiths. In a wonderful way the people of India appear to have the power of placing their faith in a god or saint, whose teaching they make no pretence to accept. Hundreds of women of all faiths wend their way to the sacred shrine where the Chisti saint lies buried, a shrine that more nearly approaches the Taj for exquisite beauty than any other building in India, and tie their cloths to the marble trellis work that surrounds the tomb, in full confidence that their prayers for offspring will be granted. There appears something fitting in the fact that this beautiful gem of architecture, and the memory of this saint, should not remain the sole property of any one faith.

Sringeri

Reference has already been made to the relation of Buddhism and Hinduism, as illustrated in this famous shrine in the west of Mysore. The researches of the head of the Mysore Archaeological Department recently brought to light some valuable documents, which show that even intolerant Muhammadanism had close relations with the *gurūs* through Tipu Sultan

and Hyder Ali. These two rulers of Mysore have generally been pictured as the most intolerant of Muhammadans, and there is much in their history that gives support to this view. It is certain that both took the strongest measures against the followers of other faiths, and the discovery of a number of letters addressed by these kings to the guru of Srīngēri, tend to relieve the impression of intolerance gained from their other actions. It may, of course, be that Tipu was seeking his own interests, and that the letters of congratulation were meant to aid his own schemes of conquest. Both, we are informed, sent presents of great value for the goddess Śārada, and on one occasion Tipu sent a silver palanquin and a pair of silver *chauris* for the temple. In one of his letters Tipu writes, "You are a great and holy personage. It is nothing but natural for everyone to cherish a desire to pay respects to you." On another occasion he writes, "We are punishing the hostile armies that have marched against our country and are harassing our subjects. You are a holy personage and an ascetic. As it is your duty to be solicitous about the welfare of the many, we request you to pray to God along with the other Brahmans of the *math*, so that all the enemies may suffer defeat and take to flight, and all the people of our country live happily." Again, "People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this Kali age. Treachery to gurūs will undoubtedly result in the destruction of the line of descent. Having thus consecrated the goddess and fed the Brahmans, please pray for the increase of our prosperity and the destruction of our enemies." To say the least of these letters from a ruler of the type of Tipu, they point to a measure of insight and sympathy with the ideals of other faiths.

Bababudan Math

In the west of Mysore is a range of hills known as the Bababudan mountains, and far away from all inhabitation is to be found a cave or *math* which is equally sacred to Hindus and Muhammadans. Every year thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India are seen wending their way over the great hills with the object of paying their devotions at this sacred shrine. The legend of the *math* shows a very interesting example of compromise. The Muhammadans assert that it is the tomb of Bababudan : the Hindus that Ḍattātrēya, a famous saint of olden days, disappeared here and that when he returns to the shrine, it will be a prophetic sign of the final *avatār* of Viṣṇu. Thus the one saint is identified by both classes under different names. This saint, Dattātrēya or Kalandar, finding the place suitable for meditation, selected it as his place of abode. He is said to have spent his days roaming about doing all kinds of good deeds, though, in the present sparsely populated districts, it is difficult to see how much of his time could have been so

occupied. Many legends are told about the shrine, but the one which is usually related to explain the present pre-eminence of the Muhammadan faith, is as follows: The saint decided to make a pilgrimage to Kāsi or Mecca. The chief disciples, a Brahmin, a Lingaite, and a Muhammadan, were told to wait outside, as he made his way through the underground passage to the distant sacred place. The first two soon wearied of their task, and after a few years, they left the faithful Muhammadan disciple in solitude. When the saint returned, he was greatly rejoiced at the sight of the faithful one, who through long years had shown such endurance and patience, and gave instructions that henceforth the place should be under his supervision, and that he should receive salvation as his reward. The *math* has ever since been in charge of descendants of this man. Muhammadan pilgrims are fed twice a day for four days, other pilgrims are given rations for three days. There are always about ten or twelve Muhammadans near the cave on the mountain for the purpose of cooking food for the pilgrims of their own faith; but they are not permitted to live there with their wives and children. No unmarried man, however, can be *guru* of the *math*. In small groups men and women of every type are to be seen making their way to this mountain shrine, all indifferent of the fact that they go to worship at a shrine dedicated to a deity other than they have always declared to be the true one.

Temple of Subramanya at Tirupparankunrum

Five miles from the town of Madura, there is a sacred hill visited by large numbers of Hindus and Muhammadans, and held in greatest reverence by them. The hill stands out boldly to the height of 1,046 feet. The generally accepted name for the hill is Skāndamalai or Subramanya Hill from the deity of the wonderful cave temple at the base. The name is disputed by the Muhammadans, who declare that this is a corruption of Sikanrdarmalai, the hill of Sikandar, a devout fakir who lived here for some years and was buried on the summit of the hill. The tomb of the ascetic is still to be seen in the cleft in the rock. Legend says that the ascetic lived in this cleft and that after his death he was buried there by his disciples. An incident of great interest in connection with the Hindu shrine at the foot of the hill, the temple of Subramanya, is related in the *Gazetteer*. On one occasion the British forces were attacking the hill which had been made into a stronghold, and the temple authorities, fearing that the temple would be desecrated, persuaded a Kutti to throw himself down from the summit of the great *gopuram*, such an act being calculated to call down the god's protection. The brave fellow did so, and the commander of the forces, realising the sacredness of the building, forbade the troops to enter. The man was not killed and received a grant of land for his brave action. The following two shrines

are briefly described as illustrating the way in which the materials of one form of religion are appropriated for use in structures erected for the service of a later faith. It is well known that the Muhammadans, though so iconoclastic in their crusade against all kinds of images, very frequently made use of the materials found in the Hindu temples they destroyed. Such structures are doubtless common throughout India, but in none do we find better illustrations of this appropriation than in the beautiful mosques in Ajmere known as the Arhai-din-kai-jhompra, and the famous mosque in the vicinity of the Kuth, Delhi.

One or two extracts from Fergusson's description of the former will serve to make clear the point: "It was finished in the reign of Altamsh, A.D. 1211+1235. According to tradition it was finished in two and a half days: hence the only name by which it is now known, the "Arhai-din-kai-jhompra," which, if it means anything, can only apply to the clearing away of the Hindu temples and symbols, to provide materials for the erection of the magnificent mosque to the glory of the iconoclast conquerors and their self-exalting creed of Islam. Like the remains of old Delhi, the entire plan is Moslem, whilst the columns and roofs are the spoils of Hindu temples. At first sight the plan, with its large cloistered court yard, bears a resemblance to that of Jaina temple, and the octagonal arrangement of the pillars for the support of the roofs might seem to support the comparison. But like many others elsewhere this formed an enclosure, with towers at the corners, to be surrounded on the north, east, and south sides by open cloisters raised on Hindu pillars, now almost quite ruined . . . What remains, however, is sufficient to show that, if completed, it must originally have been a singularly elegant specimen of an early Indian mosque. The roof is supported by four rows of lofty shafts and another of pilasters—seventy in all—each formed of three superimposed Hindu pillars." The front facade is one of the most wonderful examples of Kufic and Tughra inscriptions to be found in India. Nowhere else would it be possible to find Muhammadan largeness of conception, combined with Hindu delicacy of ornamentation, carried out to the same extent and in the same manner.

Fergusson

In the mosque, at Delhi, we find the same combination of Hindu and Muhammadan architecture. It may be questioned to what extent the pillars now stand as originally arranged by the Hindus. It is generally considered that the conquerors demolished the original structure and re arranged the Hindu pillars on their own plan. It is quite evident that the surrounding walls were erected by the Moslems, since all the string courses are covered with ornaments in their style, and all the openings possess pointed arches which

the Hindus never used. The pillars are very elaborately decorated, and most of them doubtless belong to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. There is not an inch of plain surface from the base to the summit. "In some instances the figures that were on the shafts of the pillars have been cut off as offensive to Muhammadan strictness with regard to images; but on the roof and less seen parts, the cross-legged figures of Jain saints, and other emblems of that religion, may still be detected. All the work of construction and elaboration of detailed carving appeared to have been done by Hindu workmen under the instructions of Moslem rulers.

A brief reference may be made to several smaller places, where we find Muhammadanism and Hinduism in close relation. At Mahdi, in the Ahmednagar district, there is a place of pilgrimage which has a shrine or *dargah* of a Mussalman-Hindu saint: one Shah Ramzan Mahi Savar or Kanhoba. The shrine is held in great reverence by followers of both faiths, and the chief buildings on the small hill were built by Hindu kings and chiefs. The saint is credited with having performed many miracles, and his Mussalman name is derived from his having crossed the Godaveri mounted on a large fish, Mahi Savar. A yearly fair is held attended by 30,000 pilgrims, Muhammadans and Hindus.

In the Ahmednagar district, the Muhammadan priest or *mulla*, besides attending the mosque, kills the sheep and goats offered by the Hindus as sacrifices to their gods. So thoroughly has this strange custom been incorporated with the village community, that Mahrattas generally decline to eat flesh of a sheep or goat, unless its throat has been cut by the *Mulla* or other competent Mussalman. Hindus and Muhammadans alike participate in the most important festivals of each faith, though it is not always that the followers of these faiths succeed in keeping the peace, some of the most serious riots in the country arising from the passions aroused by a conflict

Christianity and Other Faiths

In certain parts of India the followers of Christianity have been much influenced by their environment, and there is a great similarity to be found in the ways in which they celebrate their festivals. This is especially noticeable in the churches on the West Coast. But, generally speaking, it may be said that Christianity has been the least influenced by the other faiths with which it has been brought into contact in India. On the other hand, it is easy to find illustrations of the way in which Christianity has influenced the customs and ideas of the followers of other faiths. Doubtless a careful survey would provide many notable and interesting examples of places where Christianity and indigenous faiths have reacted upon each other. For the purpose of this section, reference may be made to the relations of Akbar to the Jesuit

missionaries, and to a few examples taken from among the churches on the West Coast.

Fatehpur Sikri

The Dewan-i-Khas or Privy Council Chamber, is one of the most important of the many fine buildings still to be found in exceptional good condition in Fatehpur Sikri, the summer capital of Akbar. It is a lofty hall, in the centre of which there is an enormous column of red sandstone, which terminates at some distance from the ceiling in a capital richly carved in the Hindu style. This capital forms the platform encircled by a light balustrade, and from it radiate four stone causeways leading to four niches in the building. Legend states that the emperor used to take his seat on the platform, his ministers occupying the niches, while the ambassadors, commanders, and nobles who had to transact business, remained below. It is also supposed that this hall is the place mentioned by Badoni, where Akbar held his religious controversies. We have a mention of a building possessing four *aiwans*, one for each class of religionists, and it is possible that the disputants occupied the four corners, while the emperor sat in the middle. We have several accounts extant of the debates that took place when the great emperor had before him, not only advocates of his own faith, but of Hindu and Christian faiths. Not always did the advocates exercise a becoming tolerance in their disputations; for it is recorded that Akbar had frequently to reprove the speakers. It is certain that the Christian Jesuit missionaries played an important part in these discussions, and it is believed that Akbar himself was greatly impressed by the ability with which these men advocated their religion. Though still a matter on which there is much difference of opinion, it is commonly believed that one of the emperor's favourite wives was a Christian, Miriam by name. In the house usually pointed out as her residence, there are several pictures, one of which is supposed to be a representation of the Annunciation. There is also a legend told of Akbar's relation to Christianity, which may be given here. When the Jesuits told Akbar that while he had permitted both Hindu and Muhammadan symbols in his new mosque at Fatehpur Sikri, he had not admitted any symbol of the Christian faith. Whereupon Akbar pointed to the many pillars in the mosque, and showed that, when looked at from a certain point, all the pillars contained a number of crosses. This will be evident from the picture of the interior of the mosque. The whole subject of Akbar's relation to Christianity is full of interest, and though it is still far from clear, may yet afford valuable side-light on the influence of the Jesuit missionaries on the Mughal court.

In the time of the Vijayanagar kingdom, a considerable number of Jesuit Fathers resided in the city, and appear to have obtained great privileges from

the ruling kings. How far they influenced State matters we have little data to bring forward, but on the great House of Victory, a cross has been superimposed on the Hindu carving on the walls. It has been suggested that this is an evidence of their influence in the kingdom.

On Chamundi hill, near Mysore city, a small *dipa-stambha* has been erected by a European, in close vicinity to the sacred Bull, and is regularly used in connection with the worship conducted by the Hindu priest. The shrine of St. Anthony, in the compound of the Cathedral, Bangalore, is a favourite resort on Tuesdays, not only for all classes of Christians, but for Hindus and Muhammadans. At many of the Salsette churches annual fairs or festivals are held, to which Christians flock in great numbers. Numerous Hindus and Parsis also attend, as some of the shrines have a reputation for working cures which are not confined to Christians, and obtain for them many offerings from followers of other faiths. At Nirmal village, in the Bassein Taluk of Bombay, there is the sacred burial-place of one of the great Sankarāchāryas, and here on the anniversary of his death a large fair is held which lasts a week, and is attended by seven thousand pilgrims, Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, and a few Parsis. The Portuguese pulled down the old temples found here and destroyed the *lingam*. The stones which they built into Christian churches were probably taken from these old temples. At Chander town, in the Nasik district of Bombay, there is a temple of Rēṇuka-Dēvi which contains two interesting images of wood, much daubed with paint. They both appear to be Roman Catholic images, one representing the Annunciation, and the other St. Anna with the infant Virgin on her knee, but now bear the names of Hindu goddesses and are worshipped as such.

At Bhimashankar, on the Western Ghats, there is a temple of Mahadeo, and in the hall of it there is a rough stone bull, while in the shrine there is a metal figure with five heads. Hung on an iron bar there is a large bell, weighing three to four hundredweight. Embossed on the face of the bell is a minute figure, probably the Virgin Mary, with a Maltese Cross above and the figures 1729 below, showing the year when the bell was cast. The bell is worshipped by the people, and the cross, the human figure and date are painted with red pigment.

In the fort of Ahmednagar there is a flagstaff, near to which is a large tamarind tree, known as "Wellington's tree" from the tradition that General Wellesley, as he was then called, halted beneath it while his troops were besieging the fort. Indians may frequently be observed paying their devotions to it. At Sirūr, the most notable monument in the cemetery, is the tomb of Colonel Wallace 1809, who is still remembered, at Sirur, as "Sat Purush."

the holy man. At harvest time the villagers bring the first fruits of grain as *naivēdya*, food for the saintly spirit. An incident of some significance took place in Cochin in 1905, when, on the occasion of a Hindu religious rite in honour of Sarasvati, the Goddess of Learning, the bust of a well-known missionary, Dr. Gell, was placed on an improvised altar, with the cast of Sarasvati and other Hindu gods around.

The case of Mirza Ghullah Ahmad may be mentioned. He professed to be the Messiah, the Mahdi, and the final *avatār* of Hinduism. In Khan Yar Street, Srinagar, Kashmere, there stands a tomb known to the people as the tomb of Yus Asaf, which the prophet maintains is the tomb of Jesus, who came to India after his supposed death. Chet Ram was a disciple of the Chisti Order, and he is said to have received a vision of Jesus Christ, who commanded him to build a church on that very spot and to place the Bible thereon. He built a small church at Buchhoke, placed a Bible in it, and began to gather together disciples from among the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Doubtless these illustrations might be multiplied many times over, but those given will serve to show how the Christian faith and other faiths in India interact on each other.

No attempt has been made to deal with the subject from a philosophical point of view. The question of toleration or absorption as a characteristic of Hinduism is a wide subject, but the illustrations may serve a basis for further enquiry.

A Page From The Mahratta History

BY MR. D. S. HANUMANTHA RAO (BELLARY)

PEOPLE in southern India know very little about the tiny Mahratta State of Sandur in the Bellary district. Like a torpedo in shape the State extends over an area of one hundred and sixty-one square miles, shut in by parallel hills which are covered with long grass and forest. The hills are of Dharwar rock formation reaching their highest point at the south-east corner above the Kumārasvāmi temple, where they run up to three thousand and four hundred feet. The Narihalla which drains almost the whole of the Sandur valley, enters and leaves the State through two beautiful little gorges, which are the most striking geological features of the place. The western gorge called the Obalagandi, where the stream runs through it, is only fifteen yards wide. "On either hand the dark purple and deep red hematite rocks which form the sides of this natural gate, rise precipitously to a height of one hundred and eighty feet, gradually nearing one another as they ascend. The manner in which the strata have been inverted by pressure and stand on edge is very noticeable. The bed of the stream is strewn with masses of rock, which appear to have fallen from the sides of the gate, and their rich colours form a fine contrast with the green of the woods with which the sides of the hills are here clothed. On the top of the rock, on the northern side of the gate, is a little round fort, and beneath it the ancient temple to Ahobala Narasimha." The eastern gorge, where the Narihalla leaves the valley, is called the Bhimagandi or "Bhima's Gate." This gorge, though not so imposing as the western one, is equally picturesque.

The history of Sandur is very interesting. It formed a part of the Vijayanagar empire during its palmy days. The battle of Talikota, in 1565, gave a death-blow to the empire of Vijayanagar. From that time the country round about fell under the sovereignty of one of the Sultans of Bijapnr. But the real authority was in the hands of a number of semi-independent chiefs. About 1700, the poligar of Jaramali captured Sandur; but, in 1728, he was turned out by a Mahratta chief named Siddoji Rao Ghorpade. The title of Ghorpade was earned by one of his ancestors, who scaled a precipitous fort by clinging to an iganna (called in Marathi *ghorpad*). Siddoji's grandfather, Maloji Rao, was serving under the Sultans of Bijapnr. Maloji Rao had three

sons, the eldest of whom Santoji Rao is mentioned by Duff as "one of the best officers of whom the Mahrattas can boast, and his eulogy is best recorded when we say he was the terror of the Moghul detachment for seven years." The second son was Bahirji Rao, the father of Siddoji, who earned the hereditary titles of Mamlakat Madar ('centre of the State') and Hindu Rao which are still used by the rajahs of Sandur. Siddoji Rao's eldest son was the famous Morari Rao of Gooty, who was granted by the Peshwa the hereditary title of Sēnāpati.

In 1776, Haidar Ali took Gooty and annexed the Sandur State, wherein he built the fort of Krishnanagar which was garrisoned by Tipu. Morari Rao's two sons died in childhood, and one Siva Rao, the son of a distant cousin, was adopted by Morari Rao before he died. In 1785, Siva Rao fell in a vain attempt against Tipu. His son Siddoji was a minor, and his uncle Venkat Rao became the guardian. In 1790, he drove Tipu's garrison from Sandur, and, in 1792, a treaty was concluded, but the fear of Tipu Sultan was so great that the rajahs did not dare to live in Sandur. Siddoji II died in 1796, and his widow adopted Siva Rao, a cousin. After the fall of Tipu at Seringapatam, in 1799, Siva Rao went to Sandur and at that time he was a *jāghirdar*. But the fall of Tipu did not bring in happy and peaceful days to the Sandur chiefs. Peshwa Baji Rao granted Sandur to Jaswant Rao, a distinguished officer in Sindhia's army. This was really a curious way of granting estates to favourites. Justly the chief of Sandur challenged Baji Rao's action. The Peshwa's grant was nothing short of expelling Siva Rao from his *jāghir*. The Peshwa treated Siva Rao as a rebel and wanted to capture Sandur in 1815, under the guise of a pious pilgrim to the sacred temple of Kumārasvāmi. But Siva Rao was prudent enough to block the passes and when the call from Baji Rao came, he allowed him to visit the temple only with a few followers unarmed, like humble devotees. The treaty of Bassein bound the English to help the Peshwa, and naturally Baji Rao solicited their aid. Munro was despatched from Dharwar, but Siva Rao, who was conscious of his poor military resources, resigned in a dignified manner. He met Munro at the Ohalagandi Pass, and what took place is best described in Munro's own words :

"On the 27th October the detachment, on approaching near the pass, was met by Siva Rao, attended by a few horsemen and peons. He conducted it through the defile and barrier which defends the entrance into the valley of Sandur. On reaching the glacis of the fort he drew up his party, and as he delivered the keys, he said that he threw himself entirely on the protection of British Government. He then asked leave to go away, and having obtained it, he called out to me so as to be heard by all his followers, 'Think of my

situation, have some consideration for us all.* He went through all the ceremony of surrendering his fort and abdicating the government of his little valley with a great deal of firmness and propriety; but next day when he came to my tent with his brother and a number of old servants and dependants, to solicit some provision for them, and to make some arrangements for the removal of his family to the Company's territory, he was so agitated and distressed, that he was obliged to let his brother speak for him. It was finally settled that the two vakils should each have an allowance of fifteen pagodas, and that his *jāghir*, instead of nine thousand, should be ten thousand rupees, from which he should make such allowance as he chose to his relations and followers, and that the pensions and *jāghirs* should be granted in whatever part of the Company's possessions they might be required. Though I deemed it advisable to limit myself in promising a *jāghir* to ten thousand rupees, yet, when I consider what Siva Rao has lost, that he was as much a sovereign in his own valley as any prince in India, that it contained a regular fort built by Haidar and Tipu Sultan at a great expense, that it was besides so strong by nature that no Mahratta power could have taken it from him, and that he had ruled it from his infancy for the space of twenty-one years without interruption, I cannot think that even the twelve thousand rupees which he has demanded would be more than a very inadequate compensation for the sacrifice which he has been compelled to make."

From 1818 the English and the Peshwas became estranged. To Siva Rao such an estrangement was a heaven-sent opportunity. In 1826, Munro restored Siva Rao with a formal *sannad*. Siva Rao died in 1840, and was succeeded by Venkat Rao, who, in 1861, was succeeded by Sivashanmukha Rao. In 1876, the title of "Rajah" was given to him as a mark of hereditary distinction. In 1878, after his death, his brother Vittal Rao came to the *gadi*. He was made a C. I. E. in 1892, but he died the same year at Bellary. At that time the present rajah, Venkata Rao Sahib Hindu Rao Ghorpade, was a minor, and he succeeded to the *gadi* in 1913.

A visit is worth paying to the Sandur State. There are many places of interest. In Krishnanagar there is the old fort built by Haidar Ali. Rāmandrug, at a height of three thousand and three hundred feet, is a beautiful summer resort. The temple of Kumārasvāmy, at a height of three thousand and four hundred feet, is situated in a picturesque amphitheatre. The temple is a very ancient one, but architecturally it is disappointing. Lieut. Newbold, the geologist, has given the following description:—

"It is situated near the basis of a ravine, not far from the south-west part of the range of hills that enclose the valley and after an ascent of four miles. The temple is neither large nor magnificent, but has an air of anti-

quity, of which its whitewashed exterior and gilded enpola cannot entirely divest it. The *gōpuram* faces the east; on the left of the entrance is the shrine of the goddess Pārvati, consort of Siva; to the west is the image of her son Kumārasvāmi, the presiding gēnius of the place; and to the right stands the shrine of the destroyer Siva. In front is a square pool called *Agustia Tirtha*. In front of the *gōpuram* is a small octangular column of hewn stone, at the foot of which lie three trunkless stone heads. The largest is that of the giant Tāraka slain by Kumārasvāmi. The great festival occurs triennially. . . . A Śasanam in old Canarese is still preserved, which grants the endowment of the temple. It was given in S. 615 (713 A.D.) by a king of the Marala dynasty, named Bijala Nayak."

The State is rich in games. Panther, porcupine and peafowl are common. The minerals have an unusual interest. Hematites, the richest ores, were formerly smelted by the people, but the industry has been killed by foreign manufactures. Manganese deposits are abundant. Jasper rocks and many different tints of mineral pigments are also found. As regards the present administration: The rajah has complete control over civil justice, but in matters criminal he has to take the permission of the Madras Government for capital punishment. The present rajah, who is young and enthusiastic, has left a brilliant record in the Newington Court of Wards. The people of Sandur have not made much progress in education. There are many departments which claim the attention of His Highness, and it is hoped that within a few years the rajah will carry out many important reforms, conducive to the progress and the prosperity of his subjects.



THE METHOD OF CAPTURING ELEPHANTS IN ORISSA

A Note on the Method of Capturing Elephants in the Mediaeval Period in Orissa

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, ESQ., M.A.

PASSING through the pages of that monumental work, the *Antiquities of Orissa* of the great Bengali scholar, Babu Rajendralala Mitra, a picture of a frieze of elephants reproduced therein attracted my particular attention. It represents the mode of capturing elephants then in vogue. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra himself is silent about its value, and has not a word regarding this beautiful frieze, though he has chosen to give a drawing of it. Thinking it will interest the readers of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, I have made a tracing of the frieze which is reproduced below :

Regarding its artistic merit, only the highest praise is due to the artist who has portrayed the whole scene in a most realistic manner, his carving of elephants being perfectly true to Nature. In the frieze is seen a big tusker decoyed by two trained female elephants under the direction of their respective riders. One of the rear legs of the captured tusker has already been roped, but the infuriated animal has broken and uprooted the pile to which the rope was tied. Being driven to a large teak tree in its front and hemmed on either side by a *kumki*, the drivers of the tame elephants find it easy to sling the noose of the rope round the other leg of the tusker. The driver of the elephant in the background has got down from it and is attempting to pass the noose of the rope round the other hind leg of the captive elephant. The rope, for the purpose, is supplied by the driver of the elephant in the foreground. Both these drivers are enjoining silence on the part of the large tusker which is standing behind the two female elephants and its riders ; or, it may be that they are asking the riders to stop the elephant from advancing further. The issuing of this instruction by them is indicated by the pose of their left hands. The two female elephants are holding steady the captured one by their trunks.

The female elephant in front of the group described above has two riders ; the chief rider has caught hold of a branch of the tree, perhaps, to keep his elephant in a fixed position. Its other rider is descending from it carefully, resting his right foot on the bent right hind leg of the elephant, and holding

with both of his hands the sling of the rope which is attached to the one which passes round the middle of the elephant.

The tame tusker is goaded by its rider to stop where it is, and in doing so, he keeps himself hidden from the view of the captured one by leaning in front on the head of his elephant. The second riders of the elephants are seen sitting at the very end of the back of the animals, where they are secured by a sling of a rope, which passes round the back of the riders, and whose ends are fastened to the ropes which are tied round the body of the elephants. The necessary ropes for binding down the animal to the trees or piles are neatly coiled and carried on either side of the tame elephants. The vividness of the scene and vigour of action portrayed in it are admirable. The whole scene pictured here would not fail to bring to the minds of the readers similar ones enacted periodically at the present time in the forest of Kankote in Mysore. Evidently Orissa did not practice the cowardly and barbarous method of catching elephants by throwing them in pits, as is done even now in Travancore, but employed the more manly and refined *keddah* method which is in vogue now in Mysore.

The temple in which the frieze is found, is attributed to the ninth or the tenth century A.D., and, therefore, the scene depicted in it must have been practised from a time long before this period; the picture, therefore, represents the mode of catching elephants in the mediæval period of the history of India.

REVIEWS

Some Saka Dates in Inscriptions

BY DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.: THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
OFFICE, BANGALORE.

(Published by N. Subramaniam & Co., 47/35, Chamaraja Mohalla, Mysore: Price Rs. 2).

THE early history of India has been reconstructed mainly on the basis of inscriptions dated according to the Hindu calendar in one or more of the various eras in use in India. European scholars, calculating on the basis of tables specially constructed for converting Hindu dates, with their astronomical details, into their equivalents according to the European calendar, have pronounced 25% of these inscriptions to be 'irregular,' i.e., their astronomical data are incompatible with the dates they mention. This looks suspicious, and they, therefore, conclude that the writers of Hindu inscriptions were careless or dishonest. But considering the large percentage of such 'irregular' dates, we are forced to believe rather that there is something wrong with these scholars themselves, either in their interpretation of the astronomical data or in their methods of calculation. Dr. Venkatasubbiah has, in this book, attempted to prove, in our opinion quite successfully, by a comparison of a large number of these inscriptions themselves, that their 'irregularity' is only apparent and due to the simultaneous existence of various different usages of dating inscriptions at the same times and places in southern India. For instance, southern luni-solar Jovian years are sometimes cited with Saka years corresponding to them, sometimes with the Saka years corresponding to the meansign or northern luni-solar Jovian years of the same name. And the northern luni-solar and meansign Jovian years are similarly cited sometimes with the Saka years corresponding to them, sometimes with the Saka years corresponding to southern luni-solar Jovian years of the same name. Vaisakha Sukla Tritiya, and other *yugadis*, *manvadis*, newmoons, eclipses of the sun and moon, *Vyatipata*, *Vai-dhriti*, *dinakshayas*, *dinarchhidras*, and *avararas*, are auspicious occasions for making gifts, and are, therefore, sometimes cited in inscriptions, though they do not and cannot occur on the day referred to, because it was believed that the bare mention of such occasions somehow augmented the merit of the gift. For the same reason all Sankrantis were called Uttarayana-Sankrantis. Sometimes the next years, the next years but one, the previous years, or the previous years but one of the Jovian years, according to all the three systems, were cited instead of the actual year. The Saka year is to be converted into the corresponding English dates by adding any one of the numbers, seventy-five to eighty. The terms *Brihadvara* and *Vaidavara* both

mean sometimes Thursday, sometimes Saturday. Sometimes the tropical Sankrantis are cited in place of sidereal Sankrantis. The inscriptions followed one or other of the different practices, whereby the beginning of the solar month was made to coincide with the beginning of the day on which the Sankranti occurred, or of the next day, or of the next day but one. Sometimes lunar months are called by the names of the solar months, and solar months by the names of the lunar months. Sometimes current *tithis* are cited instead of expired *tithis*. Sometimes the Brahma Siddhanta, and sometimes the Surya or Arya Siddhanta, was followed. These different usages, which existed side by side at the same times and places, consequently introduce an element of uncertainty into dates which have up to this time been regarded as yielding certain results. This is, indeed, unfortunate, but there is no help for it. All the possibilities must be exhausted, and all the regular dates, corresponding to the given data, must be ascertained, and of the resultant alternatives only that which satisfies other external evidence and historical conditions must be chosen. Only after this process can a date be finally pronounced 'irregular.' Even then emendation is wholly unsafe, for the dates can be so emended by different chronologists as to lend support to different, mutually conflicting, conclusions. Dr. Venkatasubbiah has shown how to verify the dates in the light of these different usages, and has also proved from inscriptions that the same date is sometimes expressed in many ways according to the different usages in existence in ancient times. This book is, therefore, an epoch-making work and entirely revolutionises all our current notions of Indian chronology. It necessitates a revision of all the dates in inscriptions in the light of the various usages now brought to light for the first time, and from Dr. Venkatasubbiah's note on the chronology of the Pandya kings, it will be seen how seriously his theory, if true, would affect our current knowledge of Pandya history. He says, 'Kielhorn's attempt, therefore, at constructing a chronology of the Pandya kings, without the help of historical evidence and solely on the strength of the astronomical details supplied by the dates, must be pronounced a failure. The equivalents proposed by him should be ignored, and the whole question laid on one side until historical evidence is forthcoming about the time when these kings reigned.' It, therefore, behoves every earnest worker in the field of Indian history and chronology, to study this book carefully, investigate into the whole question thoroughly, and publish their results that the common cause for which we are working may be thereby advanced. We hope that Dr. Venkatasubbiah will continue his valuable researches and throw more and more light on the dark corners of Indian history, and that his work may stimulate other men, too, whose energies are as yet only latent to give us of their best.

K. G. S.

Piyadasi Inscriptions

BY MR. RAMAVATARA SARMA

(Messrs. Sanyal & Co., Calcutta.)

STUDENTS interested in the ancient history of India owe their thanks to Mr. Ramavatar Sarma, the editor and publisher of this book, for the great pains he has been at in bringing it out. It gives in Sanskrit the text of all the inscriptions of Asoka, so far known with their translations in English. Mr. Ramavatara has also appended critical notes to several of the inscriptions, and these ought to be doubly welcome, first and foremost, because some of them add to our knowledge of the text and, secondly, because some others are corrections of plausible but incorrect interpretations of older writers. The author tells us in the preface that the present edition is only a popular edition of the *Asoka's Inscriptions* he has had under preparation for some time for the Calcutta University. This edition, we are told, will contain pictures of the Piyadasi monuments, plates of the inscriptions and other illustrations which do not appear in this volume. A useful bibliography and an interesting preface, containing a brief summary of Asoka's life and work, complete the book. We have noticed a few printer's errors which we have, no doubt, will be attended to in a future edition.

C. H.

Revue Historique de L'Inde Francaise : Volume for 1916—17, Part II : (Published by the Indo-French Historical Association, Paris)

MONS. MARTINEAU's address delivered to the graduates at the last Convocation of the Madras University, has been printed by the above learned body as Part II of their volume of researches for the year 1916-1917. The honour done is but just. The undertone of the grand orchestra of vicissitudes, which India had to pass through for over a thousand years, has been caught and echoed by none in a truer, more masterly way. The hand of an accomplished historian and a thoughtful student is apparent throughout the address, both in its analyses and syntheses. Of course, in a thesis of this comprehensive extent, it is too much to expect even a Lord Acton to be invariably correct. Even a philosophic historian is after all a human being, with individual views and standpoints. Hence, we are not much

surprised that the scholarly Governor of the French Settlements commits himself to generalisations more agreeable to European prepossessions than are warranted by facts. For instance, in page 3, occurs the statement,—“States are formed and overthrown with equal rapidity, as if the popular feeling were indifferent to these frequent changes which, on each occasion, left the masses groaning under fresh burdens without in the least improving their condition.” A little above he says, “National stability of any long duration is nowhere to be found.” Again, on page 15, after referring to a wise precept of Confucius regarding good government, he proceeds to say,—“Had Indian Rajahs and Nabobs practised that precept, instead of causing the ruin of their subjects by repeated extortions and wars more personal than national, the battle of Plassey would not have been won owing to the interested desertion of Mir Jaffer.” These generalisations are extremely unsound, and bristle with fallacies and contradictions. But this being no occasion to enter into a controversy with so redoubtable, albeit so amiable, an authority, we shall merely observe that in writing of Indian history, authors must take cognisance of three distinct epochs : the pure Hindu epoch lasting up to the days of Alexander's invasion ; the subsequent Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic period closing with Yasodharman's defeat and expulsion of the Hun hordes during the seventh century of our era ; and, finally, the Indo-Moslem period which, commencing actively somewhere about the eleventh century A.D., lasted till the close of the eighteenth century. After that, India's history is not Indian but foreign. In all these periods no evidence whatever is forthcoming as to the tyrannies exercised by any *Hindu* sovereign over his subjects, the evidence to the uniform traditionally human treatment of their subjects, on the other hand, existing abundantly. These observations of ours hold good whether for Hindustan or the Peninsula Proper. We cannot make out what His Excellency means when he says, “National stability of any long duration is nowhere to be found.” The one remarkable feature of Indian history is the survival and continuance of what we style the Indian (Indo-Aryan) nation in spite of repeated *dynastic* revolutions. It is only after Mohammad Tuglak and Ala-ud-din, there dawned on the Indian horizon symptoms of national cataclysms, by which is meant the transfer of kingly power from one nation to another. Even in these degenerate days the nation as such endured and endures to-day :

But we are exceeding our limits. It is with pleasure we turn to the magnificent eulogy His Excellency passes on the Hindu as such, on page 8, and we cite this very passage to bear out our contention that the thousand dynastic changes of pre-Moslem India, hindered not a hair's breadth the development of the Indian nation, thanks to that spirit of true statesmanship of the Hindu sovereigns, which as Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, of Mysore University, observed the other day during his lecture on “Local Self-Government of Ancient India” at the Mythic Society, confined the dynastic wars purely to the military classes, leaving the hulk of the nation to go on in its way unconcerned. So absolute was the prevalence of this spirit during the pre-Mahomedan period, that even a foreigner like Rudradaman, the head of the Hinduised Sakhas, who ruled Gurjerat in the fourth century A.D., is

thus referred to by Mr. S. Krishnaswamiengar, Rao Sahib, in his *Ancient India*, page 18: "These (the Sakhas) had been continually here from the beginning of the Christian era and, getting eventually the better of the Andhras, they had become a great power under the greatest of their rulers Rudradaman. One of the records bearing upon the history of this ruler's reign throws a curious light upon the times. Armies passed and repassed, and dynasties rose and fell, but the peaceful pursuit of the agriculturist and the artisan went on undisturbed. The grant has reference to the repairing of a tank, *Sularsana* by name, constructed in Asoka's time. . . .

. But for this sensible continuity of administrative policy, the evil consequences of the rapid succession of invasions would have been immensely more detrimental to the country.

K. R.

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Mythic Society, Bangalore

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